

1796: AMERICA'S FIRST TWO-PARTY PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

AMERICAN HISTORY

DECEMBER 1996

**CIVIL WAR
DISASTER:**

**1,700 UNION
SOLDIERS DIE**

**F. SCOTT
FITZGERALD:
JAZZ AGE
AUTHOR'S
TURBULENT
LIFE**

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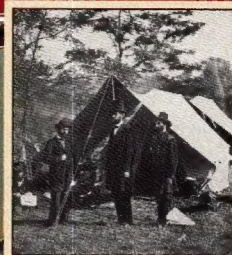
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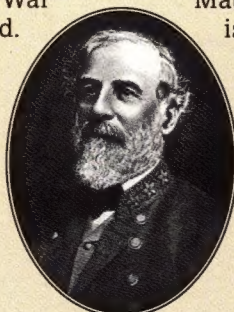
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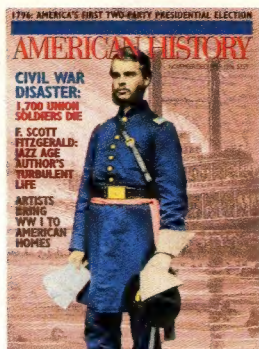
by Jerry O. Potter\ In a tragic postscript to the Civil War, as many as 1,700 Union soldiers, recently released from Confederate prisons, may have died while en route home aboard the steamer *Sultana*.

24 1796: THE FIRST REAL ELECTION

by John Ferling\ When George Washington announced that he would retire from office, he set the stage for the nation's first two-party presidential campaign.

30 IMAGES OF THE GREAT WAR

by Peter Harrington\ A monthly series of graphically detailed illustrations published in *The Ladies' Home Journal* in 1918-19 brought the reality of WWI to the American people.



Captain Frederic Speed, shown in the cover illustration, was in charge of transporting more than 2,100 war-weary, former prisoners of war from Vicksburg, Mississippi, to their homes in the North in late April 1865. In the aftermath of the explosion and fire aboard the overloaded steamer Sultana that took the lives of up to 1,700 of those men, he was the only officer to face a court-martial tribunal. Beginning on page 16, Jerry O. Potter recounts the story of this tragedy and the outcome of that trial. Cover images courtesy of Jerry O. Potter and the U. S. Army Military History Institute; colorization by Steve Hoy.

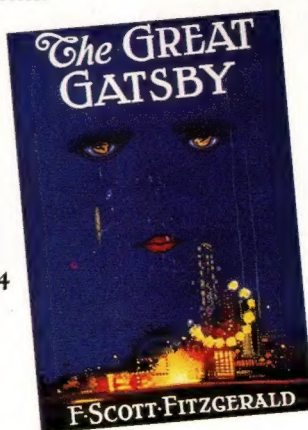
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38 KNOWN ONLY TO GOD

by Roger A. Bruns\ When Americans established a memorial to the unidentified dead of WWI in 1921, they could not foresee its expansion to include victims of three more armed conflicts.

44 F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

by Edward Oxford\ Dashing, brilliant, and self-destructive, author F. Scott Fitzgerald led a life that epitomized the Jazz Age that he wrote about in his acclaimed novels and short stories.



50 FLAGSHIP ENCOUNTER

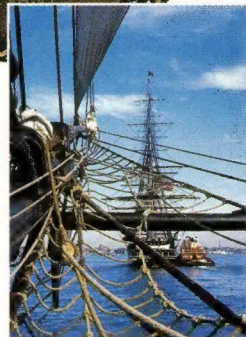
by James P. Kushlan\ Two living reminders of the age of sail and of U.S. naval victories in the War of 1812 met this summer in Boston Harbor in a prelude to next year's *Old Ironsides* bicentennial.

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Foundation and receive expert information concerning the history, care and display of military arms, copies of our newsletter, and information about the military history museums at Foundation Headquarters, "Columbia-Camp Casey", a Registered National Historic Landmark located in the shadow of the Stuart Monument in Richmond. You will also receive, free, a one-year membership in the Stuart-Mosby Historical Society and quarterly issues of "Southern Cavalry Review".

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EDITOR'S DESK

thoughts on history

For more than twenty years, my late husband and I lived in Canada. Although we maintained our American citizenship, we lacked the residential requirements necessary to cast an absentee ballot in U.S. presidential elections. Accustomed as we were to this country's republican form of government, Canada's parliamentary system took some getting used to. Not being citizens, we could not vote there either, of course—a state of affairs that taught us something about “taxation without representation.”

Many Canadians follow American elections quite closely. Those who do are well informed about the candidates and issues, but are often baffled by certain facets of our election process, particularly the role of the electoral college. As an American, I was asked repeatedly over the years to explain how that body worked and the rationale behind it. One November, I was even invited to a party on election night to serve as the official “color commentator” on the electoral vote. There I sat, never having cast a presidential vote myself, pontificating on the whole process. Finally being able to vote was, therefore, one of my biggest thrills on returning to this country. Our system may be a bit confusing to outsiders—and many insiders as well—but it has gotten the job done admirably, with a little fine tuning, for more than two centuries now.

On November 5, Americans will, for the fifty-second time in U.S. history, go to the polls to elect a president. In some ways, the first two elections—in 1788 and 1792—served as warm-ups to see how the system outlined in our new constitution would work. Unopposed for the office, George Washington was selected unanimously by electors from the various states. By 1796, however, things had changed. Not only did no candidate elicit the kind of support Washington did from his fellow citizens, partisanship had also reared its divisive head. This year's election, therefore, marks the bi-

centennial of America's first two-party presidential contest. Beginning on page 24, John Ferling enlightens us on the details of that election and on the performance of the electoral college in its first real test.

Also in this issue, Jerry O. Potter recounts the terrible disaster that befell hundreds of Union soldiers who were being shipped home on the steamer *Sultana* at the end of the Civil War, having already endured the hardship of being held in the South's Andersonville and Cahaba prison camps (page 16).

Peter Harrington shares with us little-known images of World War I that artists created for *The Ladies' Home Journal*. Published in a monthly series during 1918-19, these paintings gave Americans who were trying to comprehend a new kind of warfare a better appreciation for the sacrifices made by our troops “over there” (page 30).

When the remains of many American World War I casualties could not be identified, one of their number was selected for burial in an Arlington National Cemetery memorial now known as the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers. Roger Bruns traces the history of this memorial, which has since, sadly but fittingly, been expanded to include the unidentified dead of the conflicts that followed the “war to end all wars” (page 38).

The turbulent, post-war 1920s was captured as nowhere else in the writings of F. Scott Fitzgerald, born one hundred years ago in St. Paul, Minnesota. Edward Oxford examines the life of this giant of American literature whose writings created many of the images associated with the “Jazz Age” (page 44).

And, in our final article, James Kushlan describes the colorful meeting this past summer of two symbols of America's sailing navy—the USS *Constitution* and the US Brig *Niagara*—in Boston Harbor, part of a prelude to a two-hundredth birthday celebration for *Old Ironsides* scheduled for 1997 (page 50).

—Margaret Fortier

AMERICAN HISTORY[®]

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news of the past



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Through May 30, 1997, the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Heritage Center (405-478-2250) in Oklahoma City hosts "Frederic Remington: An American Artist, Selections from the Remington Art Museum," one of the largest and most complete exhibitions of the renowned western artist's work ever assembled. This unprecedented show combines numerous pieces on loan from the Frederic Remington Art Museum in Ogdensburg, New York, with the National Cowboy Hall of Fame's own Remington collection. In addition to featuring approximately 185 paintings, watercolors, drawings, prints, photographs, and bronze sculptures representing each segment of Remington's career, the show includes artifacts such as his easel, sculpture stand, diaries, personal correspondence, and other archival material.

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD COLLECTION UNVEILED

"F. Scott Fitzgerald and the Profession of Authorship," an exhibit featuring the largest collection of materials related to the famed American novelist ever dis-

played, continues at the University of South Carolina's Thomas Cooper Library (803-777-3142) through November 23. The heart of the exhibition is the Matthew J. Brucoli Collection, a 4,000-volume archive that contains copies of almost every English printing of Fitzgerald's work and is dedicated to the study of the author's short but brilliant career. Also featured are Fitzgerald's private papers; hundreds of photographs; rarely seen early drafts of *The Great Gatsby* and other stories; books inscribed by and to Fitzgerald; and the written works of his wife, Zelda.

MAJOR WORLD WAR I DOCUMENTARY TO AIR

The Great War and the Shaping of the 20th Century, an eight-hour mini-series co-produced by KCET/Los Angeles and the British Broadcasting Corporation in association with the London-based Imperial War Museum, will air on the Public Broadcasting System on November 10-13. A large cast of noted actors, including Louis Gossett, Jr., Martin Sheen, and Natasha Richardson, lend their talents to the series, which focuses on the war's ongoing social and cultural impact, in addi-

tion to its military and political consequences. The first major documentary produced about the Great War in thirty years incorporates a wealth of original film footage and photographs, as well as letters and diaries that tell the personal stories of many—from an English schoolgirl named Vera Brittain, to a young American artillery captain named Harry S. Truman—whose lives were forever changed by the conflict. The series also examines the origin of the term "home front"; the first use of mass propaganda; chemical weapons; aerial bombardment of civilian areas; and other wartime developments.

HESSIAN MUSEUM REOPENS

The Hessian Powder Magazine Museum on the grounds of the U.S. Army Military History Institute (717-245-3152) at Carlisle Barracks in Pennsylvania, recently reopened following extensive renovations. Built in 1777 as a munitions depot by the order of the Continental Congress, reportedly with the labor of captured Hessian soldiers, the limestone-walled building stored gunpowder, cannon shot, and small arms for American troops during the Revolutionary War. Before opening as a museum in 1948, the building served alternately as a caval-



ry school, an Indian school, and again as a store house. The two-year, \$40,000-project involved installation of a new heating, ventilation, and air-conditioning system, and the refurbishing of the museum displays, which cover the diverse history of the Magazine itself and the role played by the Carlisle Barracks in each significant era of U.S. history through World War II. Shortages in staff led the museum to replace original weapons and other artifacts formerly on view with reproductions. Since minimal supervision is thereby required, the museum was able to expand its hours of operation.

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TheHistoryNet will also offer the opportunity to join the **National Historical Society** and shop for items found in the Society's on-line catalog. And for students and teachers, we are extremely proud to be the World Wide Web site for the outstanding learning program, National History Day.

Readers can now send letters to *American History* via e-mail at: AmericanHistory@thehistorynet.com

LINCOLN FORUM ESTABLISHED

On November 17-19, "The Lincoln Forum," a recently established society of individuals and organizations dedicated to the study of Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) and the Civil War, holds its first annual symposium on the life and times of the sixteenth president, in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Among the scheduled speakers are the dean of Lincoln scholars, Professor Richard N. Current; Lincoln author Harold Holzer; and Frank J. Williams, longtime president of the Abraham Lincoln Association. Guests at the conference are also invited to attend the programs scheduled for the 133rd anniversary, on November 19, of President Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, for which Sandra Day O'Connor, associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, is the featured speaker.

The Forum is a subsidiary of the Civil War Education Association (CWEA) and is guided by a prestigious 47-member Board of Advisors made up of a "who's-who" list of Lincoln scholars and presidents of nearly all other Lincoln groups. In the future, the association also plans to sponsor tours, essay contests, and the presentation annually of an

award for Lincoln scholars. For more information contact the CWEA at 800-298-1861.

HISTORIC LIGHTHOUSE RELOCATED

In early August, the Highland Light—the oldest lighthouse on Massachusetts' Cape Cod, which is listed on the National Register of Historic Places—completed a 450-foot journey from its precarious perch just 110 feet from the edge of a cliff to a more secure inland location. When built in 1797, the 66-foot-tall beacon stood five hundred feet from the cliff.



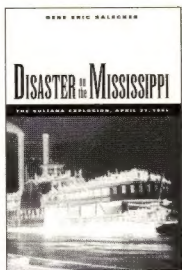
HIGHLAND LIGHT

Decades of erosion, however, took their toll on the surrounding land; in one recent year alone forty feet of shoreline disappeared. At that alarming rate, the landmark would have toppled into the ocean within three or four years.

The three-week move—undertaken by the International Chimney Corporation, which had moved the 2000-ton Southeast Lighthouse on Block Island, Rhode Island, in 1993-94—saw the 650-ton structure slowly eased along a series of steel roller beams. The campaign to save the light was initiated ten years ago by the Truro Historical Society and was supported by the U.S. Coast Guard, Cape Cod National Seashore, and the commonwealth of Massachusetts. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers supervised the project. The Coast Guard will continue to operate the Highland Light, which is visible to ships as far as thirty miles away, as an aid to navigation. ★



MILITARY HISTORY



DISASTER ON THE MISSISSIPPI The Sultana Explosion, April 27, 1865

by Gene Eric Salecker
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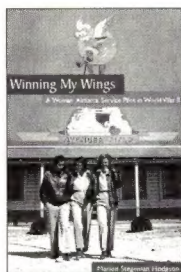
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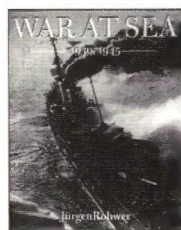
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THE WEST:

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Geoffrey C. Ward (Little, Brown and Company, 446 pages, \$60.00). This stunning companion volume to the PBS series from Ken Burns and Stephen Ives (See September/October 1996 issue) examines the diverse history of the American West from the arrival of the first Spanish explorers through World War I. Richly illustrated and with a text that draws heavily from personal diaries and records, the book is a colorful journey through the era that has come to symbolize the American spirit.

DISASTER ON THE MISSISSIPPI: THE SULTANA EXPLOSION, APRIL 27, 1865

by Gene Eric Salecker (Naval Institute Press, 346 pages, \$32.95). Long interested in the explosion and fire aboard the steamer *Sultana* (see pages 16-20), which took the lives of hundreds of Union soldiers heading home at the end of the Civil War, Salecker used personal correspondence; newspaper accounts; and numerous personal reminiscences from both survivors and their rescuers to compile a minute-by-minute account of the tragedy and its aftermath. In addition, the author offers new details concerning the handling of the boat by her captain and master, J. Cass Mason; corrects some of the misconceptions that have surrounded

the story of the *Sultana*; and offers new information on the effects of the explosion on the different parts of the steamer.

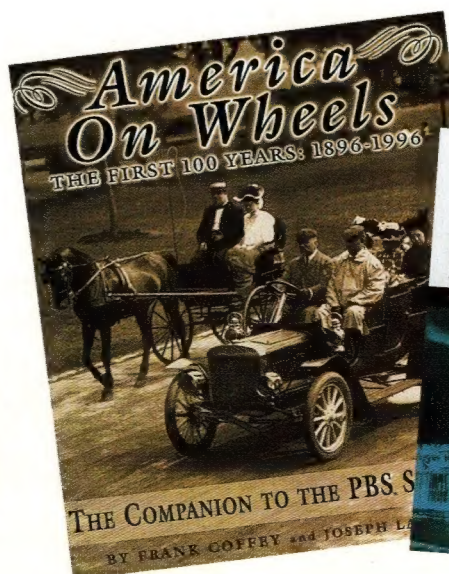
FROM THE SHADOWS:

THE ULTIMATE INSIDER'S STORY OF FIVE PRESIDENTS AND HOW THEY WON THE COLD WAR

by Robert M. Gates (Simon & Schuster, 604 pages, \$30.00). Gates, the only person to rise from an entry level position at the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to become its director, provides an insider's account of the intrigues engaged in during the administrations of Presidents Richard M. Nixon (1913-1994), Gerald Ford (1913-), Jimmy Carter (1924-), Ronald Reagan (1911-), and George Bush (1924-). Drawing on his personal experience at the CIA, his years of service on the National Security Council staff in the White House, and his knowledge of undisclosed or declassified activities, Gates reveals the conflicts, fears, miscalculations, and courage shown during the period from the late 1960s, when the Vietnam War dominated political life in the United States, to the collapse of the former Soviet Union in 1991.

AMERICA'S FIRST LADIES

by Betty Boyd Caroli (Reader's Digest,



224 pages, \$29.95). With the aid of two hundred photographs and artworks, Caroli's book spotlights the women who have taken on the role of America's first ladies. The author demonstrates that the wives of the presidents have been scrutinized since the day in May 1789 when Martha Washington (1731-1802) stepped off the presidential barge at the tip of Manhattan to join her husband. She examines why some of these women have been called "Mrs. President," "First Acting Man," and "Co-President," and reveals which of the first ladies have been the most under-appreciated by succeeding generations and which have been the most admired.

AMERICA ON WHEELS, THE FIRST 100 YEARS: 1896-1996

by Frank Coffey and Joseph Layden (General Publishing Group, Inc., 304 pages, \$40.00). Published as a companion to the three-hour PBS special "America on Wheels," this book traces the ways in which the automobile has changed life since the first gasoline-powered vehicle was sold in the United States in 1896. The nation's love affair with the car is illustrat-

ed through rare photographs, advertisements, cartoons, and handsome black-and-white and color photographs.

THEM DAMNED PICTURES: EXPLORATIONS IN AMERICAN POLITICAL CARTOON ART

by Roger A. Fischer (The Shoe String Press, Inc., 267 pages, \$37.50). More than one hundred examples vividly illustrate Fischer's history of the political cartoon, an art that enjoyed great popularity during the late nineteenth century, before the age of instant information. The author notes that the gifted cartoonists of today, who work more consistently than ever before, do not enjoy the same respect as did their predecessors, whose graphic symbolism served as one of the most powerful political weapons of its day.

WHISPERED SILENCES: JAPANESE AMERICANS AND WORLD WAR II

text by Gary Y. Okihiro, photographs by Joan Myers (University of Washington Press, 256 pages, \$29.95 soft cover). The images and the memories of the American detention camps to which more than 110,000 people of Japanese

ancestry were sent by the U.S. government during World War II are skillfully recreated here by Okihiro and Myers. Personal reminiscences of many who were relocated in 1942 in the wake of the December 1941 Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, along with stark black-and-white photographs of household items left behind at the end of the war and of the ten camps as they look today, offer a glimpse of what the detainees' lives were like behind the barbed wire.

OLD HICKORY'S WAR: ANDREW JACKSON AND THE QUEST FOR EMPIRE

David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler (Stackpole Books, 310 pages, \$24.95). This stimulating study of the life of Andrew Jackson (1767-1845), the seventh president of the United States, focuses on his hard-hearted determination to impose his will on others. The authors chronicle how Jackson, known earlier by the militiamen under his command as "Old Hickory," made many enemies—including the British, the Spanish, and the Seminole Indians—in his drive to advance his country's interests. ★

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MAILBOX

readers' letters

DISAPPOINTED

I am very disappointed that *American History* chose to print "Declassified" by Roger S. Peterson, regarding the investigation of the JFK assassination [July/August 1996 issue]. Mr. Peterson claims that new information has come to light from recently released documents but actually presents a rehash of tired and discredited conspiracy theories and "suggestions" with no credible evidence whatsoever. In more than thirty years of trying, no one has come up with any credible evidence of a conspiracy or anything to refute the ironclad evidence that Lee Harvey Oswald did it and acted alone. But the conspiracy mongers, helped greatly by Oliver Stone's movie *JFK*, have perpetrated a "big lie" and convinced a huge majority of the public that there must be something to it.

To me the JFK assassination is the litmus test of *intellectual honesty* for historians, journalists, investigators, and all serious-minded people. If you buy into the "suggestions" of Mr. Peterson and the conspiracy theorists he quotes or the idea that the assassination hasn't been solved, you fail the test.

Donald R. Beveridge
Evanston, Illinois

CONSPIRACY PROVEN BY DOCUMENTS

American History is to be congratulated for publishing Roger Peterson's excellent article on new evidence in the JFK assassination. I have spent many hours poring over newly released documents at the National Archives, and I can tell you with absolute certainty that the evidence for a conspiracy and a government orchestrat-

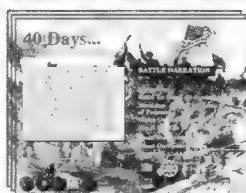
ed cover-up has been established beyond a reasonable doubt. Myself and several colleagues have found documented proof of FBI tampering with evidence.

Sadly, the vast majority of Americans will never gain access to this information because the mainstream media has simply decided to ignore it. Mr. Peterson correctly pointed out one of the reasons for this—the too-cozy relationship that sometimes exists between editors, journalists, and the intelligence agencies. It is amazing that no major newspaper, magazine, or television network has devoted any resources to pursuing these new leads. Instead the media prefer to fawn all over dishonest writers who claim prematurely that the case is closed.

Steven G. Jones
Landisville, Pennsylvania
continued on page 14

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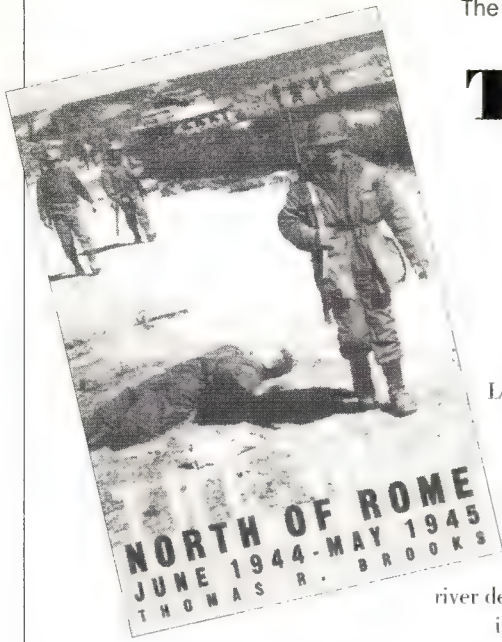
June 1944-May 1945

By Thomas R. Brooks

Foreword by Senator Bob Dole

Long neglected by the public (and by historians!), the massive Allied campaign in northern Italy is here given its due with a comprehensive account of hard, grueling combat against a formidable enemy. Though the Allied effort north of Rome may or may not have been decisive for the outcome of the war, the heroism and sacrifice of our men—including a current presidential candidate who contributed to this book in its early stages—is inspiring in its magnitude. There were no "easy" successes against the Germans, yet the Allied armies in Italy gallantly fought their way through successive mountain and river defense lines to victory. *The War North of Rome* reveals a vast panorama of combat, and an important chapter in American history, that has nearly been forgotten.

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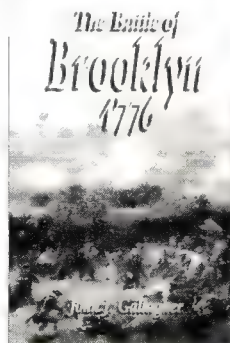
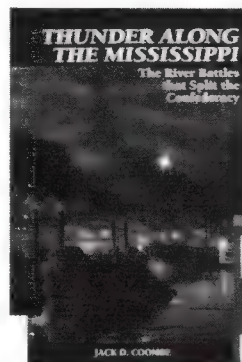


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By John J. Gallagher

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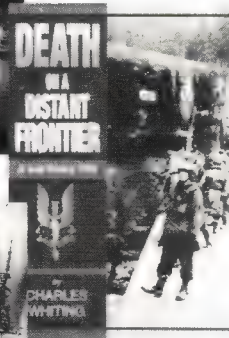
DEATH ON A DISTANT FRONTIER

A Lost Victory, 1944

By Charles Whiting

In September 1944 it seemed the war was almost over—the Wehrmacht had been shattered in France and its remnants were streaming back to the Reich, chased by the victorious Allied armies. What happened next was due to the "broad front" strategy preventing a single decisive thrust that might have collapsed the Germans once and for all.

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GI BILL STUDENTS SERIOUS

The interesting article by Michael Haydock in your September/October issue stressed the enormous numbers of returning veterans availing themselves of the GI Bill. But there were other implications as well, some of which changed the nature of college life forever.

Most returning GIs were quite serious about their education. We can imagine the reaction of a battle-hardened veteran, who had frozen in a foxhole in Belgium or slogged through the jungles of the South Pacific, when a 4F upperclassman told him that he had to wear a freshman beanie, or that he was forbidden to sit on a certain bench on campus. Here at the University of California, there were several fistfights over issues such as these, all of them reportedly resolved in favor of the veterans. The pre-war trappings of many trivial college traditions were to cease immediately, never to reappear.

Dr. John I. Thornton
Berkeley, California

PAIR-O- CHUTES AT "RIVERVIEW"

There was no Riverside Park in Chicago, as mentioned in "Brooklyn's Eiffel Tower"

[July/August 1996 issue]. Your author was referring to the city's Riverview Park on Western Avenue. I grew up within walking distance of Riverview, and as children and young adults, we all visited the park and enjoyed its many attractions. I recall standing on the ground looking up at the "Pair-O-Chutes" ride, as the people drifted downward to earth. I wasn't brave enough myself to try it and was much too young. It was the tallest ride in the park.

Riverview Park was torn down many years ago, but those of us who remember her enjoyed a bit of nostalgia in reading your article.

Betty Lans Kahn
Exton, Pennsylvania

PHOTO MISIDENTIFIED

In the excellent article "The West' Revisited" in the September/October 1996 issue, the author made the point that many newly freed slaves sought opportunity in the westward expansion. The photograph on page 34, captioned "would-be emigrants . . . waiting for a steamer," may be a tad misleading, however.

The photograph of a group of African Americans on a piece of ground sur-

rounded by water is in fact a photo of refugees from the 1897 Mississippi River flood. They are waiting for a relief boat, not a steamer to take them west. The meager pile of belongings would seem to support an emergency situation.

The photograph was taken by J. C. Coovert, who lived and worked in Greenville, Mississippi, in the 1890s. His collected works are held in the library of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. There is of course more than sufficient historical room to suggest that the group would have much preferred to head west rather than rejoin their difficult life in the Mississippi Delta at the turn of the century.

William Jeanes
Troy, Michigan

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The editors welcome comments from our readers. We endeavor to publish a representative sampling of correspondence but regret that limited space prevents us from printing every letter. Address correspondence to "Mailbox," American History, Box 8200, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17105. ★

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A TRAGIC POSTSCRIPT

ON CHRISTMAS DAY, 1864, John Clark Ely shivered against the cold wind that blew through the small prison near Meridian, Mississippi. A sergeant with the 115th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Ely had been captured by forces under Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest twenty days earlier near LaVergne, Tennessee. The weeks following his capture had been difficult for the former school

teacher and his fellow prisoners. By Christmas, several had already died of exposure. Ely must have wondered what the future held for him when he wrote in his diary: "[C]hristmas Day and such a day for us prisoners. Hungry, dirty, sleepy and lousy. Will another Christmas find us again among friends and loved ones?"

Ely was transferred to the infamous Andersonville, Georgia, prison camp where

he was housed until March 24, 1865. On that date, their Confederate captors finally released Ely and the other half-starved, sickly survivors of his company for exchange. One prisoner later wrote of their exodus: "Coming like cattle across an open field were scores of men who were nothing but skin and bones; some hobbling along as best they could, and others being helped by stronger comrades. Every



BY JERRY O. POTTER IN A TRAGIC POSTSCRIPT TO THE CIVIL WAR, AS MANY AS 1,700 UNION SOLDIERS, RECENTLY RELEASED FROM CONFEDERATE PRISONS, MAY HAVE DIED WHILE EN ROUTE HOME ABOARD THE STEAMER SULTANA.

gaunt face with its staring eyes told the story of the suffering and privation they had gone through, and protruding bones showed through their scanty tattered garments. One might have thought that the grave and sea had given up their dead."

Sergeant Ely joined approximately 5,500 other prisoners released from Andersonville and Cahaba prisons at Camp Fisk, a parole camp located on

the Big Black River four miles east of Vicksburg, Mississippi. Arriving at the camp on March 31, Ely expressed relief at his impending release when he wrote in his diary that he and his fellow prisoners had come to the place "we have looked for . . . Oh this is the brightest day of my life long to be remembered."

When news that the war was over reached the prisoners at Camp Fisk,

Most of the more than 2,100 Union soldiers who crowded the decks of the Sultana during the early morning hours of April 27, 1865, had recently emerged from the Confederacy's Andersonville (below) and Cahaba prisons, many in an emaciated state (inset) that would have made it difficult for them to swim for shore in the four-mile-wide Mississippi River, following a disastrous explosion and fire aboard the steamer as it carried them home from the war.



COURTESY OF JERRY O. POTTER



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they knew that at long last they were out of harm's way and would shortly be released. On April 14, Sergeant Ely recorded in his diary: "Today Major Anderson again raises the same old flag over Sumter and today the North rejoice over their victories and today came an order from General [Napoleon] Dana for us to be paroled and sent North. Bully, may we soon see our sweethearts."

While the men were still at the parole camp, word reached them that President Abraham Lincoln was dead. Since all telegraphic communications between the North and South had been cut off by the order of Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, the sad news was brought to Vicksburg by way of the steamboat *Sultana*.

Built in Cincinnati, Ohio, in early 1863 for Captain Preston Lodwick, the 260-foot-long *Sultana* was reported to be "one of the largest and best steamers ever constructed." With a legal carrying capacity of 376, the *Sultana*, which had a crew of eighty to eighty-five, was permitted to take on only about 290 passengers. Lodwick owned the *Sultana* until March 1864, when he sold her to three investors, one of whom was J. Cass Mason, the steamer's captain and master. However, to off-set his financial problems, Mason had, by mid-April of 1865, sold most of his interest in the *Sultana* to his first clerk, William J. Gambrel and others.

After the *Sultana* docked at Vicksburg, Mason went into town on a quest for passengers for his boat's return trip. General Dana, the Union Commander for the Department of the Mississippi, had



COURTESY OF JERRY O. POTTER

While awaiting transport north from Vicksburg, Mississippi, the soldiers released from the Southern prisons were quartered at Camp Fisk, where Union and Confederate representatives arranged their exchange for prisoners held by the Federals (top). One of those exchanged, John Clark Ely (bottom), did not survive the *Sultana* disaster, but his diary did, providing poignant details of the men's last days.

ordered that the soon-to-be paroled prisoners at Camp Fisk be sent northward from Vicksburg on privately owned steamboats, with the vessels' owners receiving five dollars per enlisted man carried and ten dollars for each officer.

Mason, in an effort to get as many of these soldiers as possible for his upriver trip, met with two army officers—Brigadier General Morgan L. Smith and Lieutenant Colonel Reuben B. Hatch—while the *Sultana* was stopped at Vicksburg. Because Smith, commander of the post and the District of Vicksburg, was, like Mason, from St. Louis and had been a riverboat captain for several years prior to the war, the two may have been acquainted. In any event, Smith promised Mason a full load of soldiers for his upriver journey.

Mason got a similar promise from Hatch, the chief quartermaster for the Department of the Mississippi and a man whose military record was tarnished by evidence of corruption. Early in the war, while serving as an assistant quartermaster at Cairo, Illinois, Hatch had been arrested for taking bribes in the purchase of military supplies. The evidence of his guilt was overwhelming, but thanks to his brother, O. M. Hatch—the secretary of state for Illinois and a friend and financial supporter of President Lincoln—Reuben Hatch never appeared before the court-martial tribunal that had been ordered to try him. O. M. Hatch, along with Illinois Governor Richard Yates and Jesse K. Dubois, the state auditor, wrote to Lincoln proclaiming Reuben Hatch's innocence and seeking the president's aid.

President Lincoln endorsed their letter and forwarded it to the judge advocate in Cairo who was handling the prosecution, requesting that if "the Judge Advocate has the means of doing so I will thank him to give me his opinion of the case." Lincoln also appointed a civilian commission to investigate the charges leveled against Reuben Hatch. Two of the three men on the commission were from Hatch's home state of Illinois, so it was not surprising that the accused was cleared of all charges.

Following his exoneration at Cairo, Hatch continued his military career, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In early 1865, a military commission at New Orleans tested Hatch on his knowledge of the duties of an assistant quartermaster general—a position he had held for the previous four years—and found him "totally unfit" to discharge the duties of that post. Nonetheless, just ten days after the board released its findings, Hatch was inexplicably made the chief quartermaster for the Department of the Mississippi, stationed at Vicksburg.

After receiving assurances from General Smith and Colonel Hatch that he would have a full load of soldiers aboard the *Sultana* when it headed north from Vicksburg, Mason reboarded his steamer and embarked for New Orleans. The *Sultana* arrived at the Crescent City on April 19 and remained



COURTESY OF JERRY O. POTTER

William Gambrel (above), first clerk aboard the Sultana, had only recently become part owner as well; he did not survive the tragedy. The ill-fated steamer can be seen in a recently discovered photograph (below) taken in St. Louis, probably in 1864.

there for two days before heading back to Vicksburg with approximately 250 passengers and crewmen on board.

Despite the conclusion of government inspectors, following an April 12 inspection in St. Louis, that the *Sultana* "may be employed as a steamer upon the wa-

ters herein specified, without peril to life from imperfection of form, materials, workmanship, or arrangement of the several parts or from age or use," crew members aboard the vessel soon became concerned about the condition of the steamer's massive boilers. One crewman, who disembarked only two hours before the *Sultana* left New Orleans, later reported that the boilers had been patched or repaired at Natchez, Mississippi, and at Vicksburg on the two previous trips.

The crew's concerns proved justified when steam was discovered escaping from a crack in one of her four boilers as the *Sultana* reached a point about ten miles south of Vicksburg, forcing her to continue up the Mississippi at a greatly reduced speed. Fearing that the crack posed a significant threat to the safety of the steamboat, her chief engineer declared that he would not proceed beyond Vicksburg until necessary repairs were made.

Meanwhile, Confederate authorities had finally agreed to parole the prisoners waiting at Camp Fisk. General Dana ordered that muster rolls listing the names of the men be prepared as quickly as possible, so that the soldiers could be immediately transported by train to Vicksburg to board steamers tied up at the docks.

The officer in nominal command of the prisoner exchange was Captain George Augustus Williams. A graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, Williams was a veteran of



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more than 13 years of service in the regular army but had never risen above the rank of captain. While serving as the provost-marshal at Memphis, Tennessee, in 1864, he had been dismissed from service because of "excessive cruelty to prisoners and gross neglect of duty." He was saved from disgrace by the intervention of Union General Ulysses S. Grant, whose written testimonial helped persuade the army to reverse his dismissal.

When military business took Captain Williams away from Vicksburg in mid-April, Captain Frederic Speed, assistant adjutant general for the Department of the Mississippi, volunteered to be his interim replacement. Since Williams was still absent when the Union troops were paroled, Speed began to assemble the rolls and arrange transportation for the war-weary soldiers. The first contingent of 1,300 anxious troops was shipped upriver on the *Henry Ames*, followed soon after by 700 soldiers aboard the *Olive Branch*.

The *Sultana* finally docked at Vicksburg early on the evening of April 23. Arriving so soon after the departure of the *Olive Branch*, the *Sultana* almost did not get any prisoners to carry north. Captain Speed, aware that the rolls of only three hundred of the remaining soldiers had been prepared, reported to General Dana that no prisoners would be shipped on the *Sultana*; he could not, he said, complete the remaining paperwork before the steamer's scheduled departure on the following day.

Furious when he learned that his steamer was to get none of the prisoners promised him, Mason went immediately into Vicksburg and met with Colonel Hatch, General Smith, and Captain Speed. At first, Speed refused to place any of the soldiers on the *Sultana* until the necessary rolls were completed. During the meeting, however, Captain Williams, who had returned to Vicksburg that afternoon, convinced Speed that there was no need to prepare the rolls before the soldiers boarded the steamer. According to Williams, the men could merely be checked off as they went aboard, and the rolls completed after the departure of the boat.

Later that same evening, Speed reported to General Dana that all the prisoners remaining at the parole camp and in the hospital at Vicksburg would be shipped

as planned on the *Sultana*. Dana was also informed that the total number of prisoners to be shipped would be between 1,300 and 1,400, the number of men Speed estimated still awaited transport.

Captain Speed's decision to place all of the remaining prisoners on one vessel was expedient rather than prudent. Since the *Sultana* had a legal carrying capacity of 376 passengers, even his estimate would

implored Taylor to settle for patching the leaking boiler so that the steamer could leave Vicksburg on schedule. Although he initially refused, Taylor finally agreed to place a small patch over the area leaking steam. After completing the job, he warned that the repairs were only temporary and was assured by Mason that the work would be completed when the *Sultana* reached St. Louis.

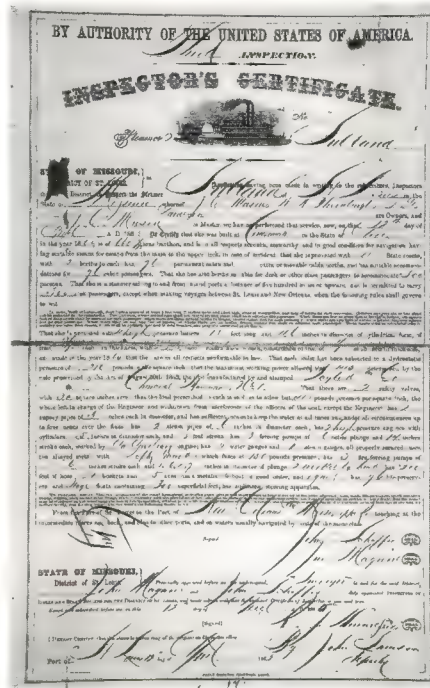
The next morning, Williams and Speed traveled to Camp Fisk. The two officers agreed that Speed would remain at the parole camp to supervise the loading of the men onto the trains, while Williams would ride on the first train back to Vicksburg, where he would keep count as they boarded the *Sultana*. The tired but excited former prisoners, grouped according to their native states, quickly climbed onto the first train.

The confidence that Williams and Speed had in the ability of the *Sultana* to carry all the remaining prisoners was not shared by Captain William F. Kerns, the quartermaster in charge of river transportation. Kerns had tried in vain to convince Speed to place some of the men on the *Lady Gay*, a steamboat then docked at Vicksburg that was larger than the *Sultana*. Speed, refusing to divide the prisoners, continued to maintain that they all could travel on the one vessel. The *Lady Gay*, therefore, headed north from Vicksburg without a single paroled prisoner on board.

A few minutes after the departure of the *Lady Gay*, Captain Williams and the first trainload of former prisoners—an estimated 570—pulled into Vicksburg. These men joined 398 soldiers already on board the *Sultana*, who probably came from the military hospital. Thus, the *Sultana* then exceeded her carrying capacity by more than six hundred. Among this first contingent was Sergeant Ely. He noted in his diary that the "*Sultana* [was] a large but not very fine boat."

As the day wore on, two more trainloads of men boarded the *Sultana*. Captain Williams, whose responsibility was to count the soldiers as they went aboard the steamer, was not at the dock when the second group of men walked across the *Sultana's* gangplank. Consequently, four hundred soldiers were not added to his tally.

After this second load of soldiers
continued on page 58



An April 12 inspection of the *Sultana* at St. Louis turned up nothing wrong (above), yet by the time she departed Vicksburg on her last voyage, the steamer carried a boiler that had been hurriedly patched or repaired at least three times, causing her crew to worry about their safety.

have been far too many for the steamer to hold. In reality, however, Speed had grossly underestimated. Instead of 1,300 to 1,400 prisoners awaiting transport, there were in excess of two thousand.*


Mason knew that time was critical; if the *Sultana* did not leave on April 24, some other steamboat would carry the remaining troops from Vicksburg. Thus, the leaking boiler that had slowed her return from New Orleans had to be repaired quickly. R. G. Taylor, a local boilermaker who had been summoned to examine the problem, told Mason that extensive repairs were needed. Mason

*Recent estimates range from almost 2,100 to more than 2,317.

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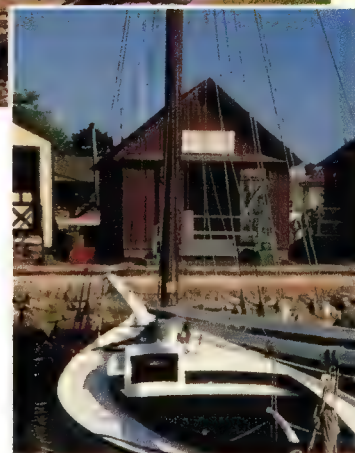
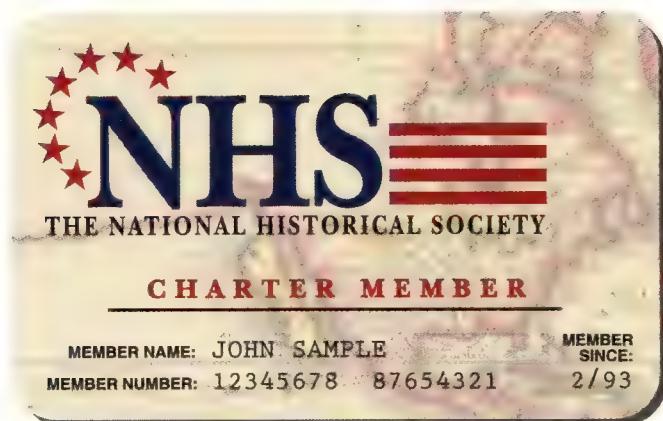
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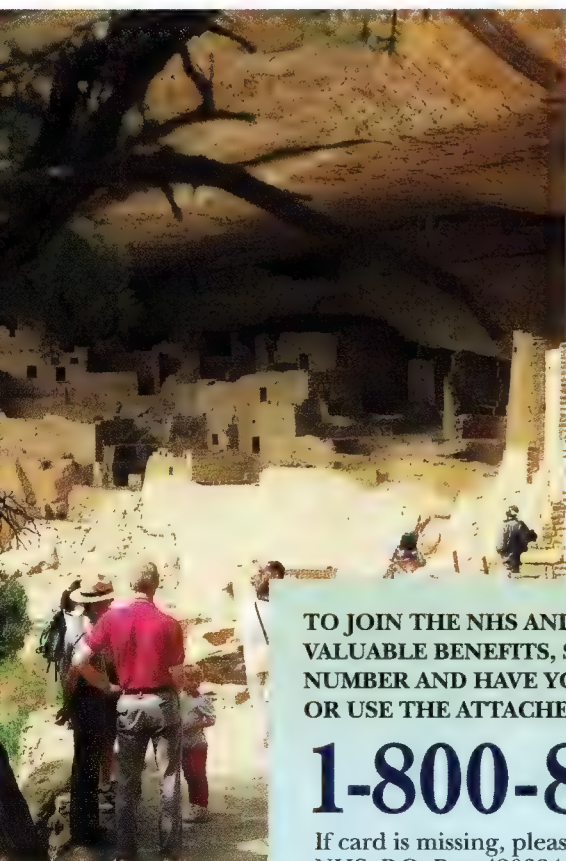
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C606AS

1796: THE FIRST REAL ELECTION

BY JOHN FERLING WHEN GEORGE WASHINGTON ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD RETIRE FROM OFFICE, HE SET THE STAGE FOR THE NATION'S FIRST TWO-PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

ON THE DAY in April 1789 that he took the oath of office at Federal Hall in New York City as the first president of the United States, George Washington noted in his diary: "I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express."

Washington, who embodied the virtues exalted by his generation, had been given the unanimous vote of the new nation's electors. He had done nothing to promote himself as a candidate for the presidency and had agreed to undertake the mammoth task with the utmost reluctance. Whatever his personal misgivings, Washington's first term in office went smoothly. It was so successful, in fact, that in 1792 he once again received the electors' unanimous endorsement.

Such smooth sailing of the ship of state could not be expected to last, however,

and during President Washington's second term, the United States—and thus its chief executive—began to experience the kinds of problems that plague any government. Relations with the former "mother country" deteriorated until it seemed that another

war with Great Britain might be inevitable. And on the domestic front, groups of farmers, especially those in the westernmost counties of Pennsylvania, protested and rebelled against the Washington administration's excise tax on the whiskey that they distilled

from their grain, eventually rioting in the summer of 1794.

The hero of America's revolution also suffered personal attacks on his character. Rumors had it that Washington was given to "gambling, reveling, horseracing and horse whipping" and that he had even taken British bribes while he was commanding American troops.

During the last weeks of 1795, reports



In his depiction of President George Washington offering a toast to his successor, John Adams, the artist, Arthur I. Keller, captures the emotion that surrounded the departure of America's beloved leader from office in 1797 (right). A medallion fashioned to commemorate Washington's inauguration as first president of the United States in 1789 includes the initials of each of the original 13 colonies enclosed in interlocking rings that surround his own monogram (above).

COWLES ARCHIVE



spread through Philadelphia—then the national capital—that Washington planned to retire at the conclusion of his second term. It was true that similar rumors had circulated three years before, as the end of his first term drew near, but this time it appeared that he was determined to step down. Nearing his mid-sixties—a



THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

Throughout the Revolutionary War and the new United States' formative years, John Adams gave tireless service to his country, including eight years as its first vice president. Although he felt entitled to the presidency, Adams, the *Federalist* candidate, refused to campaign for the office.

normal life span for a man in the eighteenth century—the president longed to retire to the tranquility of Mount Vernon, his beloved home in Virginia.

Although Washington said nothing to John Adams regarding his plans for retirement, his wife Martha hinted to the vice president near Christmas 1795 that her husband would be leaving office. Ten days later, Adams learned that the president had informed his cabinet that he would step down in March 1797.* “You know the Consequences of this, to me and to yourself,” Adams, aware that he might become the second president of the United States, wrote to his wife Abigail that same evening.

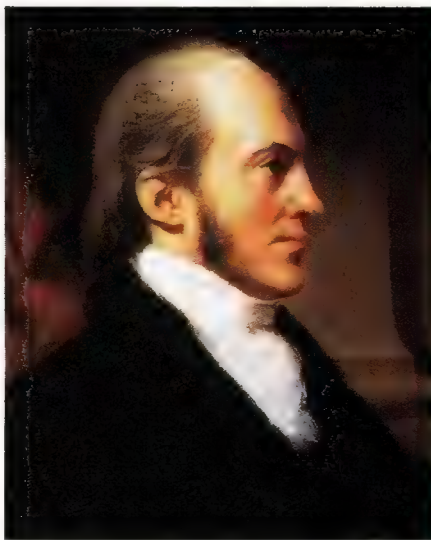
Adams's ascension to the presidency would be neither automatic nor unani-

mous. Before achieving that high office, he would have to emerge victorious from America's first contested presidential election.

Eight years earlier, in September 1787, the delegates to the Constitutional Convention had considered numerous plans for choosing a president. They had rejected direct election by qualified voters because, as Roger Sherman of Connecticut remarked, a scattered population could never “be informed of the characters of the leading candidates.” The delegates also ruled out election by Congress. Such a procedure, Gouverneur Morris stated, would inevitably be “the work of intrigue, cabal and of faction.”

Finally, the convention agreed to an electoral college scheme, whereby “Each state shall appoint in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress.” Presidential selection, therefore, would be decided through a state-by-state, rather than a national, referendum.

Each elector chosen by the voters or the legislature of his state would cast votes for two candidates, one of whom had to come from outside his state. The electors' ballots would be opened in the presence of both houses of Congress. If no one received a majority of the votes, or if two or more individuals tied with a majority of the electoral college votes, the



THE GRANGER COLLECTION

Republican candidate Aaron Burr of New York, who later gained notoriety by killing political opponent Alexander Hamilton in a duel, ran fourth in the 1796 presidential race.

members of the House of Representatives would cast ballots to elect the president.* Once the president had been decided upon, the candidate from among those remaining who had received the second largest number of electoral votes became the vice president.

The framers of the Constitution believed that most electors would judiciously cast their two ballots for persons of “real merit,” as Morris put it. Alexander Hamilton argued in *Federalist* 68—one of a series of essays penned by Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay to encourage ratification of the Constitution in New York State—that it was a “moral certainty” that the electoral college scheme would result in the election of the most qualified man. Someone skilled in the art of intrigue might win a high state office, he wrote, but only a man nationally known for his “ability and virtue” could gain the support of electors from throughout the United States.

Indeed, the “electoral college” plan worked well during the first two presidential elections in 1788 and 1792, when every elector had cast one of his ballots for Washington. But by 1796, something unforeseen by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention had occurred; men of different points of view had begun to form themselves into political parties.

The first signs of such factionalism appeared early in Washington's presidency. On one side were the Federalists who yearned for an American society and national government established on the British model. Skeptical of the growing democratization of the new nation, the Federalists desired a centralized national government that would have the strength both to aid merchants and manufacturers and to safeguard America's traditional hierarchical society.

By 1792, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and Congressman James Madison—both, like Washington, from Virginia—had taken steps to fashion an opposition party. Jefferson became the acknowledged leader of the new Anti-Federalists, a group soon known as the Democratic-Republican Party because of its empathy for the struggling republic that

*Not since 1824 has the winner of a presidential contest been decided by the House of Representatives. In that year, John Quincy Adams gained the presidency when one more than half of the members of the House cast their ballots in his favor, giving him the necessary majority.

*The March 4 date for the beginning of new terms of office went back to tradition begun under the Articles of Confederation and codified by Congressional legislation in 1792. The Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1933, specified that henceforth Congressional terms would begin on January 3 and that an incoming president and vice president would take their oaths of office at noon on January 20 of the year following their election.



As a South Carolinian, Thomas Pinckney enjoyed Southern support. Although he was a Federalist, he suffered from rumors of political maneuvering by Alexander Hamilton, the leader of that party, and failed to get the New England votes that would have enabled him to serve as Adams's vice president.

had emerged from the French Revolution of 1789. This party looked irreverently upon the past, was devoted to republican institutions, sought to give property-owning citizens greater control over their lives, and dreamt of an agrarian nation in which government would be small and weak.

Members of both parties ran candidates in congressional and state races in 1792, but they did not challenge President Washington. Partisanship, however, did surface that year in the contest for the vice presidency. Some Republicans acted behind the scenes in "support . . . of removing Mr. A," as the clerk of the House noted, mainly because Adams's writings on government included positive statements about the British monarchy. The movement came to naught because it did not have the support of Jefferson, who had known and liked Adams for nearly twenty years. Other Republicans rallied behind George Clinton, the newly elected governor of New York.

The activity of the Republicans threw a scare into the Federalists. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, the acknowledged leader of the Federalists, was so worried that he urged Adams to cut short a vacation and campaign openly against those who were—as he said—"ill disposed" toward him. Adams, who

regarded electioneering with contempt, refused to do so and remained on his farm in Quincy, Massachusetts, until after the electors had cast their ballots.

By March 1796, when Washington finally told his vice president that he would not seek reelection, Adams had decided to run for the office of president. His decision was "no light thing," he said, since he knew that as president he would be subjected to "obloquy, contempt, and insult." He even told Abigail that he believed every chief executive was "almost sure of disgrace and ruin." While she had mixed emotions about his decision, she did not discourage him from running. In fact, she told him that the presidency would be a "flattering and Glorious Reward" for his long years of service. Ultimately, Adams decided to seek the office because, he asserted, "I love my country too well to shrink from danger in her service."

As he began his quest, Adams expected formidable opposition, especially from Jefferson. He foresaw three possible outcomes to the election: he might garner the most votes, with Jefferson running second; Jefferson might win and John Jay of New York, long a congressman and diplomat, could finish second; or Jefferson might be elected president, while he was himself reelected vice president. That last scenario was not one Adams was prepared to accept. He decided that he would not serve another term as vice president; if he finished second again, he declared, he would either retire or seek election to the House of Representatives.

Adams considered himself the "heir apparent" to President Washington, having languished in the vice presidency—which he described as "the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived"—for eight years, awaiting his turn. Furthermore, he believed that no man had made greater sacrifices for the nation during the American Revolution than he. In addition to risking his legal career to protest British policies, he sat as a member of the First Continental Congress for three years and served abroad from 1778-88, making two perilous Atlantic crossings to carry out his diplomatic assignments. During that ten years, his public service had forced him to live apart from his wife and five children nearly ninety percent of the time.

Jefferson often proclaimed his disdain for politics, even though he held political office almost continuously for forty years. As 1796 unfolded, he neither made an effort to gain the presidency nor rebuffed the Republican maneuvers to elect him to that office. When he resigned as secretary of state in 1793, Jefferson had said that he did not plan to hold public office again and would happily remain at Monticello, his Virginia estate. But, while he did not seek office in 1796, neither did he say that he would not accept the presidential nomination. Adams—and most Republicans—interpreted Jefferson's behavior as indicating that he wanted to be president.

The Constitution said nothing about how to select presidential nominees. In 1800, the Republican Party would choose its candidates in a congressional nominating caucus; in 1812, the first nominating conventions were held in several states; and the first national nominating convention took place in



The author of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson, became the leader of the Anti-Federalists—otherwise known as the Democratic-Republicans—who opposed ties with Great Britain and admired the ideals of the French Revolution of 1789. He gained the second highest number of electoral votes in 1796, thus becoming the nation's second vice president.

1832. But in 1796, the nominees seemed to materialize out of thin air, as if by magic. In actuality, the party leaders decided on the candidates and attempted to herd their followers into line.

The Federalists' support centered on

Adams and Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina. Pinckney, who had recently negotiated a successful treaty with Spain that established territorial and traffic rights for the United States on the Mississippi River, was chosen for the second slot on the ticket by the party moguls—without consulting Adams—in part because as a Southerner, he might siphon Southern votes from Jefferson.

On the Republican side, Madison confided to James Monroe in February that “Jefferson alone can be started with hope

tember 19, 1796, in his “Farewell Address”—which was not delivered orally but was printed in Philadelphia’s *American Daily Advertiser*—the keenly partisan *Philadelphia Aurora* declared that it “requires no talent at divination to decide who will be candidates. . . . Thomas Jefferson & John Adams will be the men.”

But Washington’s address, said congressman Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, was “a signal, like dropping a hat, for the party racers to start.” During the next ten weeks, the presidential campaign of

elected representatives of the people, were capable of selecting the best men from among the candidates on the basis of what Adams called the “pure Principles of Merit, Virtue, and public Spirit.”

Burr alone actively campaigned. Although he did not make any speeches, he visited every New England state and spoke with several presidential electors. Many Federalist and Republican officeholders and supporters spoke at rallies, but most of the electioneering took place through handbills, pamphlets, and newspapers.

The campaign was a rough and tumble affair. The Republicans sought to convince the electorate that their opponents longed to establish a titled nobility in America and that Adams—whom they caricatured as “His Rotundity” because of his small, portly stature—was a pro-British monarchist. President Washington was assailed for supporting Hamilton’s aggressive economic program, as well as for the Jay Treaty of 1795, which had settled outstanding differences between the United States and Britain. The *Philadelphia Aurora* went so far as to insist that the president was the “source of all the misfortunes of our country.”

The Federalists responded by portraying Jefferson as an atheist and French puppet who would plunge the United States into another war with Great Britain. They also charged that he was indecisive and a visionary. A “philosopher makes the worst politician,” one Federalist advised, while another counseled that Jefferson was “fit to be a professor in a college . . . but certainly not the first magistrate of a great nation.” Newspapers such as the *Gazette of the United States* and *Porcupine’s Gazette* asserted that Jefferson’s election would result in domestic disorder.

Behind-the-scenes maneuvering included a plan by Hamilton, who felt that Pinckney could be more easily manipulated than Adams, to have one or two Federalist electors withhold their votes for Adams. Hearing rumors of the ploy, several New England electors conferred and agreed not to cast a ballot for Pinckney.

Even the French minister to the United States, Pierre Adet, became involved in the election by seeking to convey the impression that a victory for Jefferson would result in improved relations with France.

continued on page 66



THE GRANGER COLLECTION

Although he was not himself a candidate in the 1796 election, Alexander Hamilton (second from right, above), secretary of the treasury in Washington’s first cabinet, played an influential role, supporting John Adams and actively campaigning against Thomas Jefferson.

of success, [and we] mean to push him.” The Republicans also endorsed Senator Aaron Burr of New York.

All this transpired quietly, for Washington did not publicly announce his intention of retiring until the very end of the summer. Not that the parties’ plans were a mystery. Before Washington finally informed the nation of his decision on Sep-

tember 1796 was waged, as Federalists and Republicans—with the exception, for the most part, of the candidates themselves—worked feverishly for victory.

Adams, Jefferson, and Pinckney never left home. While their parties took stands on the major issues of the day, these men embraced the classical model of politics, refusing to campaign. They believed that a man should not pursue an office; rather, the office should seek out the man. They agreed that the most talented men—what some called an aristocracy of merit—should govern, but also that ultimate power rested with the people. The qualified voters, or the

Fresh out of the ground . . .

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IMAGES OF THE GREAT WAR

BY PETER HARRINGTON A MONTHLY SERIES OF GRAPHICALLY DETAILED ILLUSTRATIONS PUBLISHED IN *THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL* IN 1918-19 BROUGHT THE REALITY OF WWI TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

DURING 1919, representatives of the victorious allied nations gathered in the mirrored halls of the Palace of Versailles to hammer out a lasting peace with Germany, the final act of the "war to end all wars." In America, from small towns in the Midwest to the great cities of the eastern seaboard, it was a time of joy and thanksgiving, as families welcomed doughboys home from "over there." A feeling of pride prevailed throughout the land; the United States had finally emerged from decades of isolation to take its place among the world's great nations.

For a year and a half, the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) under General John J. Pershing had fought alongside its British and French allies in France and the lowlands of Flanders. This khaki-clad army, with its strange broad-rimmed hats reminiscent of bygone days, had answered the call to arms, bent on ending the militaristic ambitions of Kaiser Wilhelm II's Germany and its struggling cohorts—Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria.

From the time the war began late in the summer of 1914—even before the United States had entered the fray—the illustrated press fed the American public a steady diet of images of the fighting. Thousands of sepia-colored photographs were reproduced alongside specially created drawings and paintings that more graphically captured the intensity of the actual fighting.

While the Germans embraced artists, inviting them to partake of the "visual feast" the war had to offer, the same was not true among the allies, except for the French who, in the spirit of Napoleon, actively encouraged numerous artists to travel with their army. The British general staff, by contrast, was openly skeptical about artists and discouraged them from straying too near the front.

Some American artists, such as Frederick Yohn and Gilbert Gaul, did get caught up in the fury, while others—Charles Dana Gibson, for one—turned to painting propaganda posters as a means of serving their country in the cause. But, except for the numerous pictures bearing the statement "drawn from a sketch sent by a soldier at the front" or "from official information supplied to the artist," actual representations of the front, drawn by eyewitnesses, were absent from the illustrated press in the United States.

In 1917, however, some leading British politicians, and newspaper magnates such as Lord Beaverbrook, came to realize the importance of artistic representations of the war as a lasting record; even the general staff began to share their sentiments. Accordingly, several young artists whose names are closely associated with the term "war art" today—Christopher Nevins, Eric Kennington, William Orpen, and John Nash, among others—were commissioned into the army and sent to the



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FIGURE 1—CANTIGNY: WHERE THE AMERICANS WON THEIR FIRST BATTLE



FIRST LAURELS, F. E. SCHOONOVER.



FIGURE 2—BACK TO GOD'S OWN COUNTRY, C. O. DELAND.



FIGURE 3—WHEN PEACE CAME: THE KING OF THE BELGIANS WENT HOME . . . , F. E. SCHOONOVER.



various fronts. The Canadians and the Australians likewise commissioned artists to accompany their forces.

And in May 1917, less than a month after the U.S. entered the war, the Committee on Public Information in Washington, D.C., inducted eight artists into the Corps of Engineers to record the exploits of the AEF. Among this select group were Harvey Dunn, William Aylward, Harry Townsend, and George Harding; together they produced more than five hundred pieces of war art.

When peace came in November 1918, the illustrated press began to seek out and publish less violent scenes from the war alongside celebratory and patriotic images. The work of the “official” artists came to an end, and their pictures were deposited in Washington’s National Museum of American History. Some artists, George Bellows among them, continued to create works that depicted the fighting, while others returned to more peaceful, war-related themes.

There was a market for these works. The fighting may have been over, but the atmosphere in America was still ripe with patriotic sentiment. Several magazines embraced the popular enthusiasm for the victory by issuing souvenir pictures created by leading illustrators. One of the largest such projects was *The Ladies’ Home Journal’s* “Souvenir Pictures of the Great War,” a monthly series of 36 images that appeared between November 1918 and October 1919. In all, the *Journal* reproduced the work of 13 artists—Gayle Porter Hoskins, Frank E. Schoonover, Clyde O. DeLand, Arthur I. Keller, Harold Brett, Bernard Gribble, Richard Jack, Fortunino Matania, F. Luis Mora, J. H. Gardner Soper, Karl Anderson, Victor C. Anderson, and George Harding—in full color plates. At least 11 of the works were painted especially for the magazine.

Of this group, only George Harding, in his capacity as one of eight official war artists, witnessed the war from the vantage point of a participant. The *Journal*, along with other magazines such as *Collier’s*, *Town and Country*, and *World’s Work*, had contacted the Committee on Public Information about reproducing colored plates of some of the drawings done by the official artists but decided

FIGURE 4—THE WORK OF THE HUN, BERNARD GRIBBLE.

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FIGURE 5—AN ALL-AMERICAN SECOND ELDER, F. E. SCHOONOVER.

against this on the grounds that their images were not dramatic enough and lacked inspirational interest. Instead, these magazines commissioned their own portrayals of the war. Harding's single *Journal* work, therefore, is the only piece created from some personal experience of the fighting.

Harding's *Journal* picture, which he selected from a group of his wartime works, was entitled *With the 78th Division at Grand Pré*. The scene, published in 1919's September issue, represented an incident that occurred during the bitter-fought advance on the Kriemhilde Line.

One other illustrator had visited the front, albeit in the early days of the war, as an artist with *The Sphere*, a British illustrated paper. Fortunino Matania, an exceptionally gifted illustrator born in Italy, was a prolific artist throughout the war, and his pictures appeared extensively in American publications. His *When Peace Came* was originally reproduced in *The Sphere* in black and white, but the *Journal* commissioned Franz Lesshaft to redraw it in color for the May 1919 issue.

Matania's picture was in stark contrast to the Harding piece. Instead of recreating another battle scene, he captured a

moment during the peace celebrations in London on November 11, 1918, when jubilation could be seen amidst the hustle and bustle of the crowds of servicemen and civilians. The Italian-born artist even chose to include a young soldier waving the Italian tricolor as he rode on the back of a civilian.

The works of two other British-based artists were included among the souvenir pictures. Both Bernard Gribble and Richard Jack were academic artists; indeed, they were members of Britain's prestigious Royal Academy of Arts. Gribble's picture, which appeared in the *Journal* in February 1919, was one of the few naval scenes in the group. *The Work of the Hun* represented the aftermath of a successful U-boat attack upon a British merchantman (Figure 4). It depicts the crew of the forlorn ship rowing to safety in a lifeboat as the captain raises a defiant clenched fist at the departing Germans. The original canvas had been shown at The Royal Academy's summer exhibition of 1916.

Jack had spent part of the war as an official artist on behalf of the newly-founded Canadian War Museum in Ottawa, so naturally many of his pictures had a Canadian theme. His canvas of an

incident in the Battle of Ypres was reproduced as a souvenir plate in the March 1919 *Journal*.

By far the majority of the *Journal*'s souvenir pictures came from the brushes of leading American illustrators. Two, Clyde O. DeLand and Victor C. Anderson, chose themes close to the hearts of the folks on the home front. Their pictures appeared in the March and July 1919 issues of the *Journal* respectively, but apparently were not commissioned by the periodical. Anderson's piece—*For Those Who Did Not Return*—tapped the emotions of many with its depiction of a hometown memorial service, the "stars and stripes" wafting softly in the spring breeze. DeLand adapted another popular peace-time theme of a veteran recounting his experiences to an attentive audience. Again, the scene is small-town America; a young doughboy sits in the shade of an old oak tree, his listeners, young and old, hanging on his every word as he describes his experiences fighting the Hun. DeLand aptly titled his picture *Back to God's Own Country* (Figure 2).

In the spring of 1919, all eyes were turned to Paris and the treaty negotia-



FIGURE 6—HOW TWENTY MARINES TOOK BURESCHES, F. E. SCHOONOVER.



FIGURE 7—OUR FAMOUS "LOST BATTALION" IN ARGONNE FOREST, F. E. SCHOONOVER.



FIGURE 8—THE OLD AND YOUNG OF ST. MIHIEL GREETING THE LIBERATORS, F. E. SCHOONOVER.

tions. Americans took pride in knowing that their president was helping to shape the post-war world. Woodrow Wilson had received a hero's welcome upon his entry into the French capital, and illustrator Arthur I. Keller captured the moment when the president triumphantly rode down the Champs Elysées past cheering crowds of Parisians and soldiers. These were heady times and the artist caught the excitement, allowing the *Journal's* readers to revel in the moment.

That image was one of four with a similar theme—all bearing the title *When Peace Came*. In addition to the pictures by Matania and Keller, there were scenes by F. Louis Mora and Frank E. Schoonover, the latter's representing the triumphal return of King Albert to Belgium after four years in exile (Figure 3).

Schoonover was the artist featured most often in the series. He and Gayle Porter Hoskins accounted for 24 of the 36 pictures. These artists, furthermore, were the only ones to be actually commissioned by John E. Parker, the art editor of *The Ladies' Home Journal*, to create suitable patriotic images for the series.

Schoonover painted everything from heroic battle scenes and valiant acts to more peaceful moments of prayer and repose. In the latter spirit, he depicted the great French Marshal Ferdinand Foch at peace with himself, kneeling before a rail in a church as a wounded American soldier, arm in sling, looks on reverently. Schoonover began the painting, which he called *The Gray Man of Christ*, in December 1918 and finished it, according to his daybook, during the first week of January 1919.

Another scene, which was painted over a period of 17 days in February and March of 1919 and published as a souvenir picture in June, captures President Wilson's meeting with Pope Benedict XV at the Vatican on January 4, 1919. The colorful armor of the Swiss Guards contrasts with the white cassock and mossetta of the pope and the president's black formal suit.

All of Schoonover's other pictures for the *Journal* focused on the war itself. His *Cantigny: Where the Americans Won Their First Laurels* depicts the engagement at which the American troops won their first victory, on May 28, 1918 (Figure 1). The image included all the elements of modern warfare—troops attacking the

enemy amidst the rubble of a village; an abandoned tank; and aerial combat filling the sky overhead. The canvas, measuring thirty-by-fifty inches, was started on August 3, 1918, while the war was still in progress. The artist dispatched it to the offices of the Curtis Publishing Company, publishers of the *Journal*, in Philadelphia just ten days later. According to the caption printed below the plate in the magazine's November issue, Schoonover recreated the scene from official photographs and descriptions by participants.

Nine days after the Cantigny engagement, 20 U.S. Marines—out of the original 250!—wrested the small French village of Bouresches from a force of three hundred Germans (Figure 6). Attracted to the subject, Schoonover set to work on the painting in May 1919. He depicted members of the 6th Marines wading through the waist-high wheat, still green and dotted with bright red poppies, that was their only protection from enemy fire. One mortally-wounded Marine eerily stands, his head hung down, on the verge of collapse.

This attack had been part of the larger campaign to capture Belleau Wood, where four German divisions were entrenched. It took almost a month to clear them from the dense forest, at a cost of almost ten thousand American casualties. The *Journal* reproduced the picture the following April.

Two of the artist's compositions focused on particular heroic actions that had already passed into the mythology of the war. The "Lost Battalion," a unit of seven hundred men of the 77th Division, had been cut off for 36 hours from the main force in the Argonne forest without food. Sensing the inevitability of the moment, the Germans sent in a messenger under a white flag with an offer to spare the doughboys if they would surrender. The artist caught the moment when the commanding officer of the Americans, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Whittlesey, is said to have roared his famous reply, "Go to hell!" (Figure 7)

Another American hero, Sergeant Alvin York of the 327th Infantry, also fought in the Argonne forest, earning the Medal of Honor for his bravery on October 8, 1918, when he destroyed an entire German battalion that was poised to attack the AEF near Châtel-Chéhéry on Hill 223 (Figure 5). Schoonover

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FIGURE 9—UNDER THE WHITE FLAG, F. E. SCHOONOVER.



FIGURE 10—THE GREATEST AMERICAN MOMENT IN THE WAR, G. P. HOSKINS.

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painted the scene in June 1919, using as a model for York a young school teacher named Russell Ashbach, who posed for many of the artist's figures in the *Journal* series. Another close combat scene was published in December 1918 under the title *When the Whine of "Kamerad" Lifts Above the Clamour*. In it, U.S. Marines are shown entering a dug-out, surprising and capturing its German occupants.

The subjects of Schoonover's paintings at the end of the war included a scene of New York's 27th Division smashing the Hindenburg Line on September 29, 1918; U.S. soldiers escorting refugees through a devastated village as French soldiers looked on; and the German retreat back across the Rhine on a road in the Compi gne sector.

The task of graphically reconstructing the American liberation of the town of St. Mihiel, France, on September 13, 1918, occupied the artist for 13 days in his studio in an old Pennsylvania saw mill, with Ashbach as usual serving as his main model. The artist based his work on accounts written by Walter Durranty in *The New York Times* during September 1918 and on details provided to him about the reception that awaited America's Secretary of War Newton D. Baker and Generals Pershing and Henri-Philippe P tain when they entered St. Mihiel soon after its capture. The crowd, he was told, consisted "of women and children and old men, because of forcible removal of practically every male of military age . . ." As these grateful women and girls surrounded Secretary Baker to express their thanks, a military band brought up from the rear played "Marsellaise." The houses in the drawing were taken from actual photographs of St. Mihiel (Figure 8).

The artist recorded the beginning of the surrender talks in *Under the White Flag*. Issued in March of the next year, the picture captures the scene at 10 P.M. on November 7, 1918, when an officer of the French army examined the credentials of the German negotiators who had driven into La Capelle, France (Figure 9). In *Doughboys First*, Schoonover portrayed the Allied entry into Germany by depicting American troops crossing a bridge over the Moselle River (Figure 11).

continued on page 64



FIGURE 11—DOUGHBOYS FIRST, F. E. SCHOONOVER.



FIGURE 12—"THEY SHALL NOT PASS!": THE SECOND BATTLE OF THE MARNE, G. P. HOSKINS.



FIGURE 13—ONE WATER BOTTLE FOR FORTY MEN, G. P. HOSKINS.

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KNOWN BUT TO GOD

DURING THE DAYLIGHT HOURS of summer, the guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers changes every half hour. Unless the weather is extraordinarily bad, large crowds gather to watch. The quiet in which the event occurs, amidst the thousands of gravestones in Arlington National Cemetery, is broken only by the roar of airplanes from nearby Washington National Airport, the warbling and chirping of birds, and the clacking of soldiers' heels on the pavement.

Against the backdrop of the words inscribed on one of the tombs: "Here Rests In Honored Glory An American Soldier Known But to God," a member of the Third United States Infantry Regiment—"The Old Guard"—strides along a narrow 63-foot black strip of walkway, in precise movements, taking 21 steps from one side of the memorial to the other.*

Dressed in a trim, dark-blue uniform reminiscent of the regalia worn by the

Continental Army during the American Revolution, wearing white gloves, and carrying an M-14 rifle, the guard marches evenly and slowly, then faces the tomb for 21 seconds. The movements are so measured, with the heels of each foot rolling smoothly through each step, that the guard's head does not bob. Soon, two other guards approach, one of them barking out commands while the other glides along the walkway. The whole ceremony takes about ten minutes. From season to season, year to year, the ritual continues, and to many Americans it is nearly sacred.

The horrible, seemingly unending nightmare of death and destruction that engulfed continents during World War I caused world leaders at the time to search for a way to end all such future catastrophes. Often characterized as "the war to end all wars," World War I represented an evil that President Woodrow Wilson and others were determined should never again visit the earth.

More than two million Americans saw

service in Europe during World War I. Sent, as Wilson had said, to make the world "safe for democracy," they fought alongside tired and dispirited Allied troops and became a deciding factor in the war's outcome. Wounds and disease claimed the lives of more than 112,000 doughboys before the war came to an end in 1918.

On Armistice Day—November 11, 1921—an International Conference on the Limitation of Armament met for the first time in Washington, D.C., drawing representatives from many of the coun-

The magnificent, classically styled amphitheater in Virginia's Arlington National Cemetery (top), across the Potomac River from Washington, D.C., forms the backdrop for America's memorial to her war dead of this century, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers, which is guarded day and night by members of the Third U.S. Infantry, known as "The Old Guard." In 1996, Sergeant Heather Johnsen became the first female member of the unit to stand the watch (opposite).

*The number 21 represents the highest military salute that is afforded to dignitaries in state and military ceremonies.



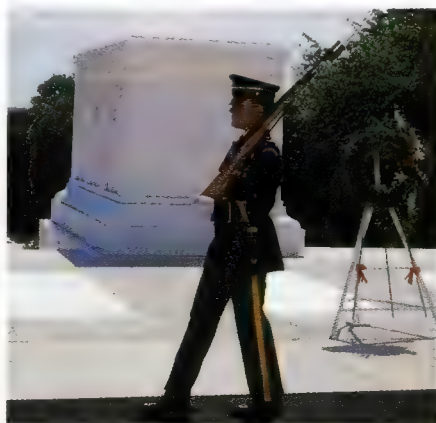
BY ROGER A. BRUNS WHEN AMERICANS ESTABLISHED A MEMORIAL TO THE UNIDENTIFIED DEAD OF WW I IN 1921, THEY COULD NOT FORESEE ITS EXPANSION TO INCLUDE VICTIMS OF THREE MORE ARMED CONFLICTS.

tries involved in World War I. In reaction, demonstrations and mass meetings calling for world peace took place across the United States. A large convention of women gathered in Detroit to discuss disarmament; in New Jersey, doves were sent aloft as a symbolic gesture to encourage world peace; in Brownsville, Texas, snow white pigeons were released; and in the nation's capital, the U.S. government prepared to honor an unidentified American casualty of the war.

The idea of creating a tomb for an unknown soldier was not new. Several European countries had built such memorials. And in Arlington National Cemetery itself, the government had erected a tomb in 1866 that was dedicated to 2,111 unknown soldiers gathered from the fields of Manassas. The inscription on that tomb reads in part, "Their remains could not be identified, but their names and deaths are recorded in the archives of their country, and its grateful citizens honor them as of their noble army of martyrs. May they rest in peace."

In 1921, in response to public senti-

ment, Congress approved a resolution providing for the establishment of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. On March 4 of that year, on his last day in office, President Woodrow Wilson



signed the bill that began the complicated operation of choosing the soldier to be honored. Although America's military participated in the war for only one year, by 1921 the remains of more than a thousand soldiers from the American Expeditionary Force were still unidentified. On October 22, 1921, four of

these bodies were exhumed from grave sites in France; one from each of the four cemeteries near the major fronts on which American troops had fought: Belleau Wood, the Somme, St. Mihiel, and the Meuse-Argonne.

The following day, four trucks carrying the bodies left the cemeteries, converging at Châlons-sur-Marne, approximately 93 miles east of Paris. On October 24, Sergeant Edward F. Younger, Headquarters Co., Second Battalion, Fiftieth Infantry, U.S. Army, a highly decorated combat soldier who had been wounded in the war, was given the honor of choosing the American Unknown Soldier. Sergeant Younger walked around the four caskets, then stopped and placed a spray of white flowers on one of them. "It was as though something had pulled me," he said later.

The three remaining unknown soldiers were reinterred in the Meuse-Argonne Cemetery, while the body of the one chosen was transported from the port city of Le Harve to the United States aboard the cruiser USS *Olympia*, Com-

modore George E. Dewey's flagship in the Spanish American War's Battle of Manila Bay. General of the Armies John J. Pershing led the delegation that awaited the "Unknown" on his arrival at Washington's Navy Yard on November 9, 1921, two days before the scheduled

Armistice Day ceremonies. A procession took the remains to the Capitol, where the casket was placed in the Rotunda to lie in state. An estimated 90,000 people stood in line to pass slowly by the fallen soldier and pay their respects.

On November 11, a horse-drawn cais-

son carried the casket across the river to Arlington National Cemetery, in Virginia. The *Washington Post* called the dense crowds gathered along Pennsylvania Avenue "perhaps the greatest throng of mourners in the history of the nation." Many wives and mothers who



BROWN BROTHERS

On November 11, 1921, thousands crowded into Arlington National Cemetery's amphitheater to pay homage to the Unknown Soldier—and by extension to all the others who gave their lives—selected from among the many unidentified remains buried in France at the end of World War I (left). The interment was attended by President Warren G. Harding (seen at right placing a floral tribute on the coffin) and other U.S. officials, numerous foreign dignitaries, relatives and friends of unidentified casualties of the war, and representatives of veterans' groups dating as far back as the Civil War (below).



UPI/CORBIS-BETTMANN

had lost husbands and sons on battlefields in France had come to Washington believing that the Unknown Soldier was perhaps their own loved one.

Among the many dignitaries who walked in the procession as far as the White House were President Warren G. Harding, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court William Howard Taft, representatives of America's World War I allies, members of Congress, Medal of Honor recipients, and groups of Civil War veterans. Former President Woodrow Wilson rode in an open carriage, owing to the effects of a stroke suffered in 1919.

The sight of President Wilson caused the crowds along the route to roar. A reporter for *The New York Times* wrote that Wilson, "his once strong body broken by ill health, his limbs too frail to permit his marching with the other great men who followed the Unknown caisson on foot, was a grim reminder that he had been an outstanding figure in the world conflict which today's ceremonial typified."

As the cavalcade passed the presidential mansion, Wilson left the procession to return home. President Harding and others of the official party got into automobiles to ride the remaining distance to the cemetery. At Arlington's Memorial Amphitheater, the flag-draped coffin was carried to the apse and placed on a catafalque. After a brief ceremony, President Harding delivered a eulogy to the Unknown Soldier. "It is fitting," he declared, "to say that his sacrifice, and that of the millions of dead, shall not be in vain. There must be, there shall be, the commanding voice of a conscious civilization against armed warfare."

President Harding declared that modern warfare was no longer a chivalric contest but horrible, cruel, scientific destruction, emblematic of the failures of a civilization that "can leave its problems to such cruel arbitrament." He asked that those present "beseech all men to join us in seeking the rule under which reason and righteousness shall prevail." At New York's Madison Square Garden and in San Francisco large crowds gathered to listen to the president's remarks over telephone amplifiers.

After the eulogy, the president awarded the nation's two highest decorations for valor—the Medal of Honor and the Distinguished Service Cross—to the Unknown Soldier. At the end of the cer-



BROWN BROTHERS

emony, the body was lowered into the crypt and layered with soil from the battlefields of France. Chief Plenty Coups of the Crow, representing Native Americans, then placed a war bonnet on the sarcophagus and lifted his arms in supplication toward the heavens.

The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier quickly became a revered shrine at which Americans honored all their war dead. It was a memorial that inspired a sense of mystery, the soldier's lack of identity connecting him universally to the American public. Whatever their backgrounds, each American could imagine that the Unknown Soldier was somehow a part of their own lives, perhaps even a relative. Thousands of people visited the shrine immediately after the interment; others sent Christmas and birthday cards, letters, and flowers. The memorial also became a testament to what President Harding had called the "commanding voice" of peace.

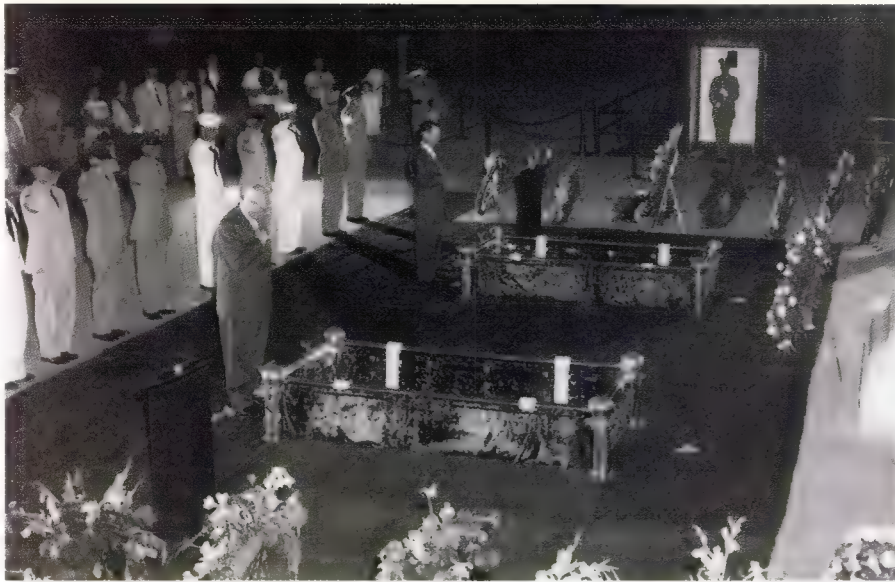
Despite its immediate place in the hearts of Americans, it took five years for Congress to approve the completion of the monument. Finally in 1931, a 72-ton

marble monument sculpted by Thomas Hudson Jones, and built at a cost of \$48,000 by architect Lorimer Rich, replaced the modest temporary pedestal.

Three figures representing Peace, Victory, and Valor adorned the front of the monument. The marble came from Colorado and was the finest and whitest in America, the same as used in the Lincoln Memorial. The main section of the monument was the single largest piece of marble ever quarried in the United States, according to the Army Corps of Engineers.

Whether the Unknown Soldier would remain the only one entombed at the monument would depend on human behavior. In the late 1930s, Adolf Hitler, in a speech to Germany's *Reichstag*, talked of a new war raging in Europe as "one of those elemental conflicts which usher in a new millennium and which shake the world once in a thousand years." World War I had not been the war to end all wars; the world was creating more unknown soldiers.

Following the devastation of World War II, initial planning began for the interment of another unidentified Ameri-



Before arrangements could be made for the selection and burial of an unidentified soldier from World War II, the United States became militarily involved in the Korean conflict. Remains of servicemen from both wars were laid to rest on either side of the World War I Unknown in May 1958 (above).

can soldier at the Arlington memorial. But before those plans could be completed, the United States again found itself involved in armed conflict, this time in Korea. In 1953, after the Korean cease-fire, Congress authorized the entombment of two additional soldiers at the memorial, one from World War II and the other from the Korean War.

At the end of World War II, more than eighty thousand American servicemen and -women remained missing; in Korea, the total was more than nine thousand. On May 30, 1958, the remains of an individual from each of those conflicts was laid to rest in identical crypts flanking that of the World War I Unknown. Their resting places were marked with simple, flat, white memorial stones, which were later inscribed with the dates of American involvement in those two wars.

Vastly improved methods of identification resulted in few of the more than fifty thousand who died in the Vietnam War remaining unknown. Not until 1984 was a representative from that conflict interred at the memorial directly in front of the original tomb, between the graves of the Unknowns from WWII and Korea (right).

But as the nation paid tribute to these unidentified soldiers, more hostilities loomed. In the next 15 years, through America's torturous political and military involvement in Southeast Asia, fifty thousand U.S. military personnel lost their lives. In 1973, shortly after all American troops had been withdrawn, Congress authorized the entombment of an Unknown Soldier from the Vietnam conflict. The new crypt would be placed between the graves of the World War II and Korean Unknowns and directly in front of the monument to the original Unknown Soldier.

Because sophisticated, scientific pathological identification techniques—dental-record examination, blood typing, and superimposing photographs over skeletal remains—and rapid helicopter evacuation of battlefield casualties resulted in few unidentified remains, more than a decade passed before the U.S. sec-

retary of defense, Caspar Weinberger, announced that a body of an American soldier killed in Vietnam had been declared unidentifiable.

At the Memorial Amphitheater in May 1984, President Ronald Reagan delivered an eloquent address. "A grateful nation opens her heart today in gratitude for their sacrifice, for their courage and their noble service," he said. "Let us, if we must, debate the issues learned at some other time. Today we simply say with pride: Thank you, dear son, and may God cradle you in His loving arms."

Today, the soldiers of the elite Third Infantry who alternately stand stoic guard over the Tomb of the Unknowns must complete rigorous training. In addition to possessing an outstanding military record and an intense desire to become a member of the Guard, a candidate must be at least five feet, ten inches tall and adhere to strict uniform and walk requirements. Those selected undergo nine months of intensive training and take a battery of tests that rate their knowledge of military history and that of Arlington National Cemetery, including the exact location of more than 200 individuals among the 240,000 interred there. About seventy percent of the recruits drop out during the first two weeks. To those who do succeed, the Army awards the Tomb Guard badge, a silver medal engraved with an image of the Tomb, an inverted craven wreath, and the words "Honor Guard."

When a new guard begins duty, the soldier is assigned only night walks, a two-hour shift after the cemetery is closed and the Tomb is a restricted mili-

continued on page 73



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THE HOUSE WAS built during the mid 1850s. The front section of the house is 2 story and the rear section is a single story.

THE HOUSE WAS abandoned during the 1970s and subsequently was condemned in 1983. The house was scheduled for demolition in Jan. 1984. The current owner purchased the house shortly before the demolition. The restoration of the project took three years to complete.

ON MAY 18, 1989, the Metropolitan Historical Commission awarded the prestigious Architectural Award for the restoration work on the property. A bronze plaque remains with the house as long as it is preserved in its historical context.

THE JAMES HOME has been shown on local and national TV news. In addition, stories about the house have appeared in numerous books, magazines and newspapers.

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

BY EDWARD OXFORD DASHING, BRILLIANT, AND SELF-DESTRUCTIVE, AUTHOR F. SCOTT FITZGERALD LED A LIFE THAT EPITOMIZED THE JAZZ AGE THAT HE WROTE ABOUT IN HIS ACCLAIMED NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES.

"I REMEMBER RIDING in a taxi one afternoon between very tall buildings under a mauve and rosy sky," F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote of his first days in New York City. "I began to bawl because I had everything I wanted and knew I would never be so happy again."

It was the 1920s—the Jazz Age—a time that F. Scott Fitzgerald would celebrate, try to capture in his writings, and eventually come to symbolize. Like the "Roaring Twenties" themselves—which started with high expectations following the Great War but which ended with the stock market crash of 1929—Fitzgerald found success, along with a desperate struggle to sustain it. He impressed the nation with his ability to convey the image and the energy of this razzle-dazzle era, only to become an ironic witness to the age's—and his own—demise.

Self-absorbed, alcoholic, still questioning, the flamboyant Scott, who wrote so tellingly of the "sad young men" of the days that followed World War I, died in 1940 at the age of 44, as new war clouds gathered over the world. Often characterized as the drunken writer, ruined novelist, or spoiled genius, this quicksilver personality was to become, through his sometimes superb fiction, an unforgettable figure in American letters—one of the most colorful, important, and cherished American authors of the twentieth century.

Francis Scott Key Fitzgerald was born on September 24, 1896, in his parents' rented apartment on the fringe of a well-to-do neighborhood in St. Paul, Minnesota. Named for the author of the "Star Spangled Banner," a distant rela-



tive of his father's, Scott, as he was known, fantasized as a youngster that he was of royal lineage. It seemed fitting, in his view of himself, that he should be blessed with wealth, and his life graced with ease. Destiny, however, did not deem him quite so deserving.

Fortunate to be accepted into Princeton University's class of 1917, Fitzgerald was not at all a scholar's scholar; rather, he was more a collegian's collegian. "He thrilled to the poetry of Princeton," biographer Andrew Turnbull noted, "to the colorful crowds at the football games, to the snatches of song drifting across the campus, to the mellow lamplight back of Nassau Hall . . ."

Fitzgerald both found and lost himself at Princeton. He became something of a

littérateur, writing pieces for the university's literary magazine and frothy lyrics for Triangle Club musicals. But the more he pursued campus glory, the more his studies suffered. Once, when a professor threatened to fail him, Fitzgerald retorted: "Sir, you can't do that, I'm a writer!"

By his junior year, a chastened Fitzgerald was required to withdraw from the university "for scholastic deficiencies." Although he returned to the school in September 1916, he had to accept the bitter realization that there would be "no badges of pride, no medals after all." Even so, he would ever revere Princeton as a place "that preserves so much of what is fair, gracious, charming and honorable in American life."

With the outbreak of World War I, Fitzgerald pictured himself a war hero and planned to volunteer for service. Since admission to officers' training required that he be 21 years of age, he remained at Princeton until his birthday in 1917, then earned a commission as a second lieutenant in the United States Army.

But just as studies interfered with his writing interests at Princeton, so marches and drills got in the way of the novel he was trying to write—a book about "my generation in America"—while in the army. Convinced that he would not live through the war should he make it

Although best known for his novels, which included This Side of Paradise, Tender Is the Night, and The Great Gatsby, American author F. Scott Fitzgerald (right) was a frequent contributor of short stories to magazines such as The Smart Set (above) and Life.





CORBIS-BETTMANN

into combat, he ground out chapters in the officers' club, then completed the manuscript during a furlough spent at Princeton. Entitled *The Romantic Egoist*, Fitzgerald's first novel impressed the editor of Charles Scribner's Sons publishers, but was politely turned down.

While stationed near Montgomery, Alabama, Lieutenant Fitzgerald met Zelda Sayre at a country club dance on a "fire-fly evening" in the summer of 1918. Vivacious, provocative, and unpredictable, Zelda was, as she put it, a *femme fatale* "without a single feeling of inferiority, or shyness, or doubt." Scott, who was unaware of the history of mental instability in her mother's family, found Zelda mesmerizing.

The more Scott pursued Zelda, the less certain she seemed about the prospect of

marrying him. When he left the army, never having found the glory he had aspired to on the battlefield, she demurred "because he had no money and could make no money." In a letter, Zelda advised him: "I'd just hate to live a sordid, colorless existence, because you'd soon love me less and less."

Fitzgerald determined to win Zelda by writing a successful novel. Retreating to a room at his parents' home, he bore down, reshaped the novel he had written while in uniform, and produced *This*

Side of Paradise, a book that captured the postwar disillusionment of his generation. The work's hero, the thinly disguised author himself, dreamed youthful dreams in the never-never land of campus life. He was part of a generation "grown up to find all Gods dead, all wars fought, and all faiths in man shaken." Scribner's published *This Side of Paradise* in March 1920, selling out the first run within 24 hours. "A Novel About Flappers for Philosophers," as Scott's own ad-line read, it ushered in the "Jazz Age" and heralded the arrival of a 23-year-old star upon the American literary scene.

A week after *This Side of Paradise* appeared, Zelda and Scott were married. America had set out upon "the gaudiest spree in history," and a glittering future beckoned. There, on the garish stage-center of New York, the golden couple basked in the bright light of acclaim. Like aristocratic bohemians, Scott and Zelda drank, went to parties, and made the gossip columns. They tried to outdo one another in their zaniness—Scott tore his shirt off in a theater, Zelda rode on the hood of a taxi; he jumped into one public fountain, she into another.

"They complemented each other like gin and vermouth in a martini," wrote one chronicler. Erratic, self-admiring, and often inebriated, they came to personify the times. They lived to seek out "useless pleasure-giving pursuits." The Fitzgeralds interrupted their free-wheeling lifestyle, however, in the fall of 1921, to prepare for the arrival of a baby. Amidst the relative tranquility of St. Paul, their daughter, Frances Scott Fitzgerald, was born on October 26, 1921.

Married in 1920, Fitzgerald and Zelda Sayre (above) lived an existence filled with pleasure-seeking excess of the sort pursued by the Jazz-Age characters he wrote about. Scenes reminiscent of their partying on Long Island's "Gold Coast" were brought to movie screens through films of the era (right), including adaptations of his own semi-autobiographical stories.

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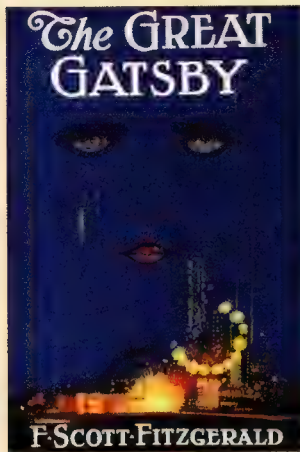
AN AMERICAN CLASSIC

The Great Gatsby, the best known and most enduringly popular of F. Scott Fitzgerald's novels, first appeared on April 10, 1925. An elegant, silkenly-woven, bittersweet tale of the well-to-do, of illusions, of love unrequited, the book has become an American classic.

Fitzgerald began planning the novel as early as 1922, telling Maxwell Perkins, his editor at Scribner's: "I want to write something new—something extraordinary and

beautiful and simple and intricately patterned." A short story he wrote that year—*Winter Dreams*—about a poor boy's love for a rich girl, presaged the novel.

As with so many of his writings, Fitzgerald mirrored his own yearnings and lost hopes in *The Great Gatsby*. The brief, finely etched work tells of the self-made Jay Gatsby's foredoomed striving



THE GRANGER COLLECTION

to recapture the love of Daisy Buchanan, an upper-class woman. The love-stricken Gatsby paid the price for living too long with a dream that could not be realized.

The novel reflected the Great Neck, Long Island, settings Fitzgerald knew while he and Zelda lived there from the fall of 1922 until the spring of 1924. His deft sketches of the "Gold Coast"—the colossal mansions, languid women, blue lawns, crimson rooms, men in white flannel suits, crystal glasses, orchestras playing in the moonlight—would form vivid backgrounds for the tale's unfolding. And there, as though by fortune's hand, Fitzgerald met a shadowy bootlegger by the name of Max von Gerlach. Given to using the expression "old sport," it quite likely was Gerlach who provided the crucial prototype for the enigmatic Jay Gatsby.

Although he started working on the book in the summer of 1923 at Great Neck, Fitzgerald did most of the writing on the French Riviera from April 1924 to February 1925. At the time, he thought that "the whole basis of this novel was the loss of illusions that give such color to the world so that you don't care whether things are true or false as long as they partake of the magical glory."

At first, the impressionistic, nine-chapter novel found few readers. In its publication year of 1925, the book sold but 25,000 copies, earning a dismayed Fitzgerald barely enough to cover the advances he had drawn against it. Fifteen years later, at the time of his death, copies from its second printing were still stacked in the publisher's warehouse. But in the 1940s, 17 new editions were published. During World War II, more than 150,000 copies were distributed to servicemen in an Armed Forces Edition. And since 1950, the book has been translated into 33 languages.

The Great Gatsby, turned into dramatic form by Owen Davis in 1926, had a Broadway run of 112 performances. That same year saw the silent movie version, with Warner Baxter as Gatsby and Lois Wilson as Daisy. A second film version, made in 1949, featured Alan Ladd and Betty Field (below center). In 1974, a third starred Robert Redford and Mia Farrow (below right). Along the way, the Gatsby theme would inspire a 1958 television adaptation (below left), a university musical, and even clothing and coiffure styles.

Professor Matthew J. Bruccoli, pre-eminent Fitzgerald biographer and scholar, states: "Much of the endurance of *The Great Gatsby* results from its investigation of the American Dream as Fitzgerald enlarged a Horatio Alger story into a meditation on the New World myth. He was profoundly moved by the innocence and generosity he perceived in American history—what he would refer to as 'a willingness of heart.' . . . The reverberating meanings of the fable have never been depleted." ★



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"Scottie" was a pretty, bright girl, and her father delighted in teaching her all sorts of new things. Zelda, though somewhat indifferent to the chores of motherhood, sincerely enjoyed spending time with her daughter. Scott proved to be a strict parent and later recalled that he brought Scottie up "hard as nails." He provided her with a first-rate education, and she became strong and independent minded at an early age. Given her parents' lifestyle however, Scottie as a youngster, spent much time with nannies and friends of her parents.

"Parties are a form of suicide," Fitzgerald said, yet he and Zelda could not get enough of them. The couple's antics caused them to resemble, said one friend, "the Marx Brothers at a cotillion." Their drinking became so bad that a friend commented: "God knows where the two of them are going to end up."

Out of such turmoil came Fitzgerald's *The Beautiful and Damned*. Published in March 1922, the novel etched the decline and fall of a vain young couple from the privileged life of the beautiful to the degradation of the damned. It vividly reflected the downward drift of Scott and Zelda's own lives. As one epigrammatic line put it: "The victor belongs to the spoils."

That autumn, they settled in Great Neck, on Long Island's north-shore "Gold Coast." Scott and Zelda cavorted back and forth between parties in Great Neck and in Manhattan in his second-hand Rolls-Royce. Against the backdrop of the grand estates, the glittering couple of American letters became tireless, if tedious, court-jesters. At *soirées* the incorrigible Scott would crawl under tables, hack off his tie with a kitchen knife, or try to eat soup with a fork. He and Zelda blithely drove his car into a pond. It was all, in Fitzgerald's words, "Very alcoholic and chaotic."

Moving to the French Riviera in 1924 to get away from the chaos—and themselves—the couple stayed clear of drink

while Scott toiled at what was to become a masterpiece: *The Great Gatsby*. Zelda, meanwhile, had a romantic dalliance with a French aviator. Although the Fitzgeralds' marriage weathered that interlude, it never again was the same.

Fitzgerald's next novel—*Tender Is the Night*—did not come easily. Starting work in 1925, he labored over the draft in starts-and-stops for nine years. During that time, life for the no-longer-shimmering couple turned into a running "cat-and-dog" fight. Zelda com-

thought that the lilies were talking to her.

Soon after the 1929 Crash on Wall Street, Zelda experienced the first of three devastating mental breakdowns. As America reeled under the Depression, Fitzgerald lived in the somber shadow of Zelda's schizophrenia. She would endure a dozen stays—sometimes for weeks, sometimes months—in mental institutions in Europe and the United States. It became the view of psychiatrists that she could never again permanently take her place back "in the world."

Zelda's looks faded. Her face hardened, becoming wraith-like. "Isn't it terrible," she said to Scott, "When you have one little corner of your brain that needs fixing?" While in confinement, Zelda wrote *Save Me the Waltz*, an autobiographical novel in which she paraphrased their tempestuous marriage. Hallucinations, depression, mental anguish, suicide attempts—the dazed Zelda lived out the horror of it all.

At last, after 17 drafts, Scott completed *Tender Is the Night*. Finally published in April 1934, the poignant work reflected, through fictional alter-egos, Zelda's breakdown and Scott's own decline.

The book intrigued some reviewers, but garnered only modest success. As the Depression deepened, Americans had become far more interested in the "have-nots" than the "haves."

"Waste and horror," Fitzgerald wrote of his life, "what I might have been and done—that is lost, spent, gone, dissipated, unrecapturable." He drank, had sporadic affairs, and tried to hold onto his ebbing creative strength. He wrote in his notebook: "I left my capacity for hoping on the little roads that led to Zelda's sanitarium." Nonetheless, in his way, Scott continued to hold onto the memory of—and love for—the woman she had been.

By 1936, Fitzgerald's dreams were in ruins. His wife was mentally ill, his health was fading, and he was deeply in debt. He smoked heavily, ate poorly, and, as ever, drank far too much. He



BROWN BROTHERS

In 1921, Scott and Zelda took time out from their fast-paced lifestyle to retreat to his hometown of St. Paul, Minnesota, and await the birth of their daughter, Scottie, shown here in a family Christmas photo taken in Paris, France, four years later.

plained that Scott was "constantly drunk." Once, he bloodied her nose.

Perhaps in an effort to earn fame in her own right, Zelda turned to ballet, obsessively dancing in a vain attempt, especially given her age, to become a first-rate ballerina. Then, she began to show signs of falling apart, suffering dizzy spells, hearing strange noises, and sensing vibrations from people she met. While driving in Cannes, France, Zelda tried to veer her car off a cliff. Another time, she sprawled in front of a parked car and said, "Scott, drive over me." In a flower shop, she

used pills to put himself to sleep and to wake himself up. In *The Crack-Up*, a startling three-part magazine series, he stripped himself bare in print, announcing to the world that he was spiritually and artistically bankrupt. "There was not an 'I' anymore," he wrote.

Money, or Fitzgerald's inability to hang onto it, was a constant problem. In one year, for example, he earned \$36,000—twenty times as much as the average American worker—yet was unable to sustain his lifestyle. He insisted on providing the best, most expensive care for Zelda, and an excellent private education for Scottie. He was forced to live off the proceeds from his short stories and the constant advances drawn against pieces yet to be written.

In mid-1937, Fitzgerald, owing thousands of dollars, made his third and last assault on the motion-picture citadel, heading to Hollywood as a highly-paid screenwriter. He had tried in the past to show the film studios a thing or two about scriptwriting, but displayed scant command of the movie medium. He toiled anew at a number of scripts, but still lacked the filmic touch,

managing to earn but one screen credit, for *Three Comrades*. Director Billy Wilder said of Scott's efforts: "It was like asking a sculptor to be a plumber."

During his more than three years in Hollywood, columnist Sheila Graham became his companion and lover. They lived a somewhat quiet life together, and he was sober most of the time. When he

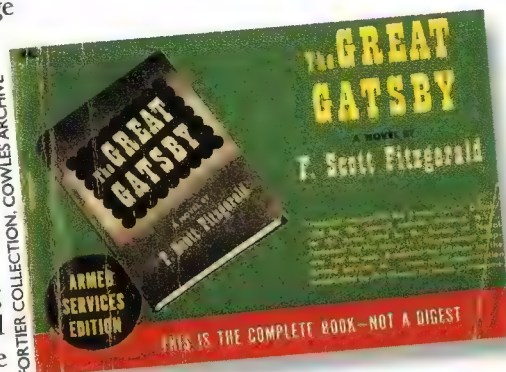
was drunk, however, he would rant and sometimes become violent.

In a final effort, Fitzgerald summoned enough power of will to begin another novel. In October 1939, his nerves frazzled and his heart burdened with a sense of sadness, he began work on *The Last Tycoon*. The book would build around the fictionalized figure of Monroe Stahr, based on the character of Irving Thalberg, an almost mythic Hollywood producer. Scott saw his protagonist as the last of the American heroes.

For more than a year, he followed his plot outline. In a letter to Zelda he said: "I am deep in the novel, living in it, and it makes me happy . . ." By late fall 1940, Fitzgerald had written some 44,000 words, roughly two-thirds of the project that he had in mind. *The Last Tycoon*, however, was to remain an unfinished portrait.

"I was drunk for many years," Fitzgerald had once jotted prophetically in his notebook, "and then I died." The end for the once-luminous literary figure came quietly, as if an afterthought to so garish, erratic, and self-defeating a life. He simply

continued on page 63



*Although not an immediate best-seller, Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* endured. More than 150,000 of the Armed Forces Editions of the classic were distributed to American servicemen during World War II.*



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C O R B I S



FLAGSHIP ENCOUNTER

BY JAMES P. KUSHLAN TWO LIVING REMINDERS OF THE AGE OF SAIL AND OF U.S. NAVAL VICTORIES IN THE WAR OF 1812 MET THIS SUMMER IN BOSTON HARBOR IN A PRELUDE TO NEXT YEAR'S OLD IRONSIDES BICENTENNIAL.

FIRE FLASHED FROM a starboard gun port, followed by a cloud of sulfurous smoke that billowed across the deck and skyward, past towering white sails. A second shot rang out, and the crew aboard the US Brig *Niagara* raised a lusty cheer. The scene could have been straight out of the early 1800s, but as the sound of the guns echoed across Boston Harbor and the cheer faded away, a reminder of the late 1990s drifted in on the breeze—the cannons' concussion had set off the sirens and bleeps of car alarms in harbor-side parking lots.

Niagara, the official flagship of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, had left her Lake Erie home port to come to Boston that July 12, 1996, to join the USS *Constitution*—Old Ironsides—flagship of the U.S. Navy, in taking a turn around the harbor. The encounter was a first for the two ships whose nineteenth-century counterparts contributed important chapters to U.S. naval history during the War of 1812.

This ceremonial sail was one of ten such excursions in the *Constitution's* "Salute to the Nation" program this past summer, a prelude to the vessel's two-

hundredth anniversary celebration in 1997. Actually, "sail" is something of a misnomer for the excursion the two vessels undertook that day. The *Niagara* maneuvered away from the pier under auxiliary engine power, then set stay-sails, topsails, and topgallants, but the

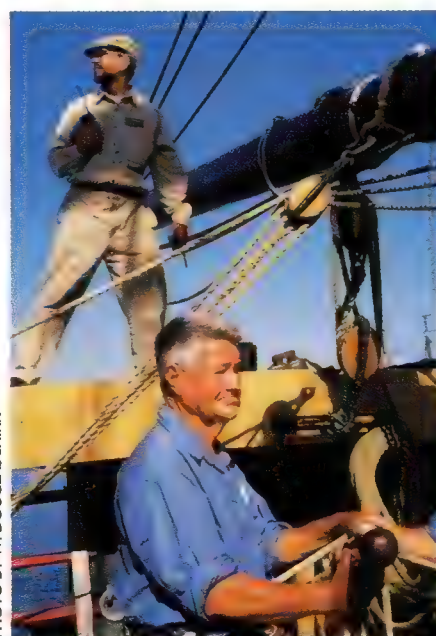


PHOTO BY W. DOUGLAS SHIRK

Constitution's mighty spars were bare. Throughout the short cruise and the climactic 21-gun salute to the United States fired by both vessels, the *Constitution* was hauled along by two tugboats.

There was certainly no shame in that. After almost two centuries afloat, the *Constitution* deserves to be treated gingerly. Incredibly, however, her lack of sail is only temporary, and a crew of 150 naval personnel is being trained to man Old Ironsides during a planned sail—a real one—on Massachusetts Bay on July 21, 1997, the eve of the 199th anniversary of the vessel's 1798 maiden voyage.

The *Constitution's* history stretches back to March 1794, when Congress created the U.S. Navy and ordered construction of six naval vessels: the 44-gun frigates *United States*, *Constitution*, *President*, and *Chesapeake* and the 36-gun frigates *Constellation* and *Congress*.* The young nation had good reason to take on the huge expense of founding and maintaining a navy. The United States, as it prepared to enter the nineteenth century, relied heavily on international commerce, which depended entirely on sea transport.

The navy's primary mission would be to defend the free movement of American merchant ships in the world's seaways, particularly in the Mediterranean Sea, where, since the 1500s, the Arab Barbary States of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripoli controlled access from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean and the waters off North Africa. Through piracy, these states compelled other nations to pay tribute in the form of treasure and goods. In addition to seizing merchant vessels from countries that failed to comply, they also sold captured sailors into slavery. The United States found this situation intolerable and determined to assert its sovereignty.

Construction of the *Constitution* began in 1794 in the Boston shipyard of Edmund, Joseph, and Edward Hartt. According to maritime historian Howard I. Chapelle, British expatriate Josiah Fox drew up the plans for *Constitution* under the guidance of Philadelphia designer Joshua Humphreys, who, says Chapelle, "it seems most likely . . . should receive credit" for the ship's design. For three

*The *Chesapeake* was eventually built as a 38-gun ship, although by 1807 she carried 40 guns. The *Constellation* and *Congress* had two cannon added to their armament taking it to 38 on each ship.

Although her spars were bare as she navigated Boston Harbor this past July 12, the USS *Constitution* offered a stately reminder of the Age of Sail, an image that was enhanced when she was joined by the considerably smaller US Brig *Niagara* (left), which, although under sail, bore evidence of such twentieth-century technology as the hand-held radio used by her captain, Walter Rybka, to direct the steering of his ship (above). Art "Skipper" Kimberly, a veteran seaman who once sailed his own brigantine around the world, mans the *Niagara's* tiller.

years, builder George Claghorne oversaw the construction, together with Captain Samuel Nicholson, who became her first master. After two failed launch attempts (for which the angle of the ways was to blame), the *Constitution* finally took to the water on October 21, 1797.

Constitution was fashioned from the premium North American shipbuilding woods: live oak for her frames, white oak, pitch pine, red cedar, and locust. When completed, she displaced 2,200 tons and drew 22.5 feet. Her length overall was 204 feet; she was 43.5 feet in the beam; and the truck of her mainmast was 220 feet

above the water. Carrying 42,710 square feet of sail, she was capable of more than 13 knots.

The first real action *Constitution* saw was in the 1803 U.S. blockade of Tripoli. As part of a squadron commanded by Commodore Edward Preble, who chose her as his flagship, she sustained damage during the daily exchange of fire with Tripolitan strongholds. Eventually, she had to be pulled out of the line for repairs. When she returned in March 1805, *Constitution* resumed her place of honor as flagship of the new squadron commander, Commodore John Rodgers.

In June 1805, when the Pasha of Tripoli agreed to stop demanding tribute from American vessels and to release all American hostages, the peace agreement was written aboard the *Constitution*. Rodgers then sailed his flagship to Tunisia, where the warship's presence helped hasten an August 1805 agreement with that Barbary state.

Undoubtedly, *Constitution*'s greatest moment of glory came during the War of 1812. In 35 action-packed minutes on August 19, 1812, the frigate became immortal, gaining a proud nickname and a place as the symbol of American naval might.

Isaac Hull, her captain

and a veteran of the Tripolitan War, engaged a 38-gun British frigate, HMS *Guerrière*, off the coast of Nova Scotia, calmly bringing his vessel alongside her opponent before firing a single shot. Then, on his order to "pour it into them," the *Constitution*'s gunners let loose one 22-gun broadside after another, toppling *Guerrière*'s mizzenmast. Hull next directed the *Constitution* across the bow of the badly damaged British ship, sweeping *Guerrière*'s topsides with a burst of cannon fire that brought rigging, spars, and canvas crashing to the deck. At that moment, *Guerrière*'s bowsprit became entangled with the *Constitution*'s standing rigging. Both ships' crews prepared to board their opponents' vessel and settle the fight with hand-to-hand combat. The pitching of the ships in the rough seas made boarding impossible, but the *Guerrière* did manage to set *Constitution*'s cabin afire with a well-placed shot.

The two warships managed to pull away from one another. As they did, however, *Guerrière*'s mainmast and foremast fell into the sea, and the battle was over. The bright ensign of the proud Royal Navy came down, and Captain James Dacres and *Guerrière*'s surviving crew watched from the *Constitution* as their ruined vessel was set afire. Fourteen Americans lay dead or wounded; the British had suffered 78 casualties.

As the *Guerrière* slipped beneath the waves, the legend of the *Constitution* was born. Throughout the battle, British cannonballs bounced off the American ship into the sea, having failed to puncture her hull. According to legend, one of *Guerrière*'s crewmen remarked: "Huzzah! Her sides are made of iron!" Ever after, the victorious ship would be known as "Old Ironsides."

Before the War of 1812 came to an end, the *Constitution* proved worthy of her nickname in two more victorious battles. A glorious past, however, is not always enough to guarantee a secure future, and



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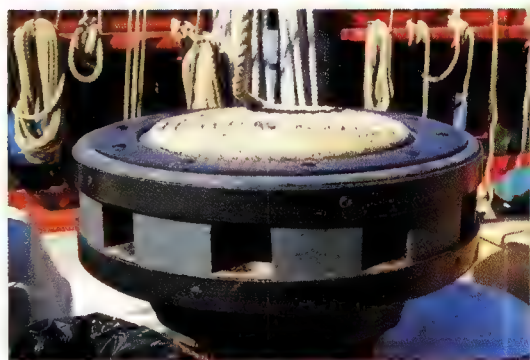


U.S. CAPITOL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A veteran of the earlier Barbary Wars, *Constitution* won glory in August 1812 when she defeated Britain's HMS *Guerrière* off Nova Scotia (top); the original Niagara won a place in American naval history a year later when Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry made her his flagship while achieving victory during the Battle of Lake Erie (bottom).



The rigging, signal flags, colorfully uniformed re-enactors, armament, and intriguing hardware that are found aboard the *Constitution* and *Niagara* today offer a visual feast for the camera's lens.



the question of whether to continue to restore and refit the *Constitution* has come up repeatedly since 1830, when she was first scheduled for destruction. In that year, eminent Bostonian Oliver Wendell Holmes managed to rally public support around the ship by penning and publishing a heart-rending poem pointing out her past glory and urging that she not be allowed to rot away.

There is an unsubstantiated story that in the early 1840s the ship again was saved from destruction when War of 1812 veteran Captain John "Mad Jack" Percival, then in his sixties, jumped into the water of Virginia's Norfolk Navy Yard wearing only his red union suit, swam around the condemned vessel to survey her strakes below the waterline, and emerged to persuade a Navy Department commission that the ship could be salvaged for just \$10,000 (a story so good that if it is not true, it should be). Percival

went on to command *Old Ironsides* on a 52,297-mile around-the-world cruise during 1844-45.

The *Constitution* has been refurbished numerous times since Percival's day, usually following a period of governmental soul-searching about whether the cost of a refit could be justified. Each time, patriotic sentiment and public outcry have come to the aid of the noble, old ship. After a restoration in 1871, *Constitution* sailed across the Atlantic to France, bearing materials for the American display at the 1878 Universal Exhibition in Paris.

After being berthed for a time in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, *Old Ironsides* returned to Boston in 1897, in time for the centennial of her launch. A round of light preservation work during 1906-07 was followed by an extensive rebuilding that began in 1927, a project financed in part by schoolchildren's pennies and other public contributions. A three-year

"Thank You Cruise" commenced in 1931, with the recommissioned *Constitution* visiting ports of call on the East, Gulf, and West Coasts. Another refit was undertaken in 1973, in preparation for the U.S. bicentennial three years later.

Most recently, in March 1996, the *Constitution* emerged from a drydock at the former Charlestown Navy Yard (now the Naval Historical Center Detachment Boston) after almost four years of reconstructive work that cost approximately \$12 million. Restored to her appearance at the time she battled the *Guerrière*, she still contains some material from her original construction—enough, as she approaches her two-hundredth anniversary, to qualify as America's oldest commissioned warship.

Unlike the *Constitution*, *Niagara* was built hastily to perform a specific task, at a specific time, in a specific geographic area. In

the words of New York master shipbuilder Noah Brown, who oversaw her construction, she and the several vessels built alongside her were “wanted for only one battle; if we win that is all that is wanted of them; if the enemy is victorious, the work is good enough to be captured.”

The “one battle” referred to by Brown was to be a showdown between the British and American fleets on Lake Erie, also during the War of 1812. As long as the British fleet continued to control Lake Erie, His Majesty’s troops stationed at Fort Malden, near the mouth of the Detroit River at Amherstburg, Ontario, could operate with virtual immunity from attack by American forces.

The task of eradicating the British naval presence in the region fell to Master Commandant Oliver Hazard Perry of the U.S. Navy. Elevated to the temporary rank of acting commodore, Perry reported to Erie, Pennsylvania, on March 27, 1813, to take command of a flotilla of assorted vessels being constructed there in Misery Bay. His fleet was completed—in a hurry—under shipbuilder Brown’s scrutiny. Timber, cut in surrounding forests, was still

green when used, sometimes on the very day it had been felled. When finished, the fleet included the schooners *Ariel* and *Ohio*, the gunboats *Scorpion* and *Porcupine*, and two brigs, the *Lawrence* and the *Niagara*. These vessels were joined by other already existing craft to bring the

number in Perry’s flotilla to nine.

Niagara’s claim to fame resulted from a very serious blunder that occurred on September 10, 1813. On that day, Perry brought his fleet into action against its British counterpart near Sandusky, Ohio, in the Battle of Put-in-Bay, better known as the Battle of Lake Erie. The British had come to challenge the Americans, whose vessels were manned chiefly by farmers and ground troops recruited or requisitioned locally.

Perry stood on the quarterdeck of his flagship, the *Lawrence*, as he sailed out to meet the enemy. As the opposing vessels closed, Perry ordered his personal flag—a nine-foot, dark-blue square bearing the words “Don’t Give Up the Ship” in huge white letters—hoisted aloft. These had been the last words of Captain James Lawrence, who died when his frigate *Chesapeake* and HMS *Shannon* clashed off the Massachusetts coast on June 1, 1813, and for whom Perry’s flagship was named. The flag’s effect on the American sailors and marines was electric, causing the first

continued on page 70



Before the Constitution underwent a major overhaul in 1927, schoolchildren helped to raise money to cover the expense. Many also wrote about Old Ironsides for a national essay contest, the winners receiving a commemorative medallion for their efforts (above).

FOTRIER COLLECTION, COWLES ARCHIVE

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“Shiver the yards!” “Lay aloft.” “Take a strain.” “Avast heaving!” “Belay!” Such is the language of a sailing ship, and for the raw crew member, it is a source of great bewilderment. It takes a few glares before the apprentice fully under-



PHOTO BY W. DOUGLAS SHIRK

stands that “Come up!” means to drop the rope line he or she is holding. But apprentices of every age and ability can still sign ships’ articles and learn the time-tested language and skills of traditional seamanship—if they don’t mind teamwork and taking orders.

“Apprentice deckhands” aboard the *Niagara* sleep in canvas hammocks slung from beams below the deck. They take turns washing the dishes of their “division” in washtubs on deck and helping the cook in the galley. They learn how to wash down the deck; they help heave around the capstan to break out the anchor; they help paint and otherwise maintain the ship; and they haul on many a line. And to have

such an adventure, many use their precious vacation time, gladly.

There are many vessels aboard which aspiring sailors or people who simply appreciate the authentic maritime tradition can participate in the operation of a ship. (Age need not be an obstacle; volunteer crew aboard *Niagara* have ranged in age from the mid-teens to the early eighties.) An organization known as “ASTA,” for the American Sail Training Association, periodically produces a directory of sail training vessels and their requirements and accommodations. ASTA is based at 47 Bowen’s Wharf, Newport, Rhode Island 02840, and can be reached by calling 401-846-1775.

As a former first mate of the *Niagara* noted in the crew handbook, “The sailing ship life, while rigorous, is an engaging one. Being under the sun and stars, feeling the sea breezes, an historic sailing ship under your feet and in your hands all make up an experience you will long remember.” ★

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CARTOONS GO TO WAR

(A&E Television Networks, \$24.95). The contribution that government-sponsored and studio-generated animated short films made to boost morale during World War II is explored in this video program, which features vintage cartoon footage as well as clips of Warner Bros. and Walt Disney characters, Private Snafu, Mr. Hook, and others. During the war years, an estimated 90 million Americans—out of a population of about 120 million—went to see a movie each week, making the motion-picture screen one of the fastest ways to reach a large number of people with information about the global conflict and anti-German and -Japanese propaganda. As part of its contribution to the war effort, Disney created maps depicting the countries of Europe and illustrating their fate at the hands of Germany's war machine. The video offers interviews with animators, cartoon collectors, and historians, along with examples of how the cartoons provided a sugar-coated picture of life during the war by having the likes of Bugs Bunny, Donald Duck, and Gandy Goose poke fun at such subjects as rationing.

MEAN OLD WORLD:

THE BLUES FROM 1940 TO 1994

(Shore Fire Media, \$59.95). From the Smithsonian Collection of Recordings,

the division of Smithsonian Institution Press devoted to preserving American musical culture, comes a four-CD boxed set containing 79 post-war blues recordings. This compilation goes beyond the "greatest hits" to offer the most significant music of the period and includes recordings by such artists as Billie Holiday ("Billie's Blues"), John Lee Hooker ("Crawlin' Kingsnake"), Howlin' Wolf ("How Many More Years"), Jesse Fuller ("San Francisco Bay Blues"), Sonny Boy Williamson ("Trust My Baby"), B.B. King ("Why I Sing the Blues"), Muddy Waters ("Rollin' and Tumblin'"), and Elizabeth Cotten ("Freight Train"). Complementing the recordings is a 96-page, illustrated booklet that offers biographies of the featured performers and an overview of this peculiarly American form of music.

WHY VOTE?

A RIGHT & A RESPONSIBILITY

(Cambridge Educational, \$69.95). Aimed at young adults who are preparing to vote for the first time, this video answers many of the questions that youthful citizens pose about their role in the political process. In a series of interviews aimed at emphasizing the importance of participating in our democracy, "Uncle Sam" gives a short history of voting that focuses on the struggles that were waged to ensure that right; points to 21 U.S. presidential elections in which a shift of one percent of all votes would have changed the outcome; presents information on the registration procedure, absentee balloting, and voting machines; and provides an overview of the elections held at the various levels of government.

CNN FACES OF CONFLICT

(CNN Interactive, \$39.95). Cuba, Northern Ireland, Somalia, South Africa, and Vietnam are among the world's trouble spots examined in this CD-ROM for Macintosh and Windows by the Cable News Network (CNN). Divided into



three sections—current, potential, and resolved conflicts—the disc offers more than 75 minutes of video material; 30 minutes of slide shows detailing the historical background of the strife; interviews with specialists, as well as with ordinary people experiencing the turmoil first hand; maps; and personal insights from CNN's foremost journalists.

REVOLUTIONS

(Dean Shostak Music, \$17.00). The haunting music of the little-known glass armonica is reintroduced by Dean Shostak, a musician for The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, on this audio compact disc. The armonica, invented around 1761 by Benjamin Franklin (1706-90), consists of musically tuned glass bowls mounted on a spindle, which are made to rotate by the action of a fly wheel attached to a foot treadle. The sound is achieved by the musician rubbing moistened fingers along the rims of the glass bowls. The instrument, which enjoyed considerable popularity in Europe and America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, has been revitalized by Shostak so that twentieth-century listeners can enjoy and appreciate the beauty of its sound. Accompanying Shostak on the glass armonica are pianist Jacqueline Schwab, harpist Sue Richards, and Steve Bloom on percussion. Selections include such traditional tunes as "Amazing Grace" and "Shenandoah," as well as more recent compositions. The hour-long CD is available only by calling 800-588-3326.

HONOR & GLORY: AMERICA'S MILITARY HONOR GUARDS

(A&E Television Networks, \$19.95). The ceremonial guards of each of the four branches of the U.S. armed services are the focus of this documentary video. This inside look at the units examines how today's theatrical precision drills are rooted in tradition extending back to antiquity; the tactical role played by drilling during the American Revolution; the psychological effects of flag raisings on each side during armed conflict; the effectiveness of music in raising soldiers' spirits during battle; and the continuing role of the color guards. Among the units featured are the Marines' Silent Drill Platoon; the U.S. Army's Old Guard; and "The President's Own," a 144-piece Marine Band. ★

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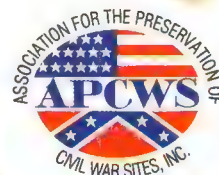
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A TRAGIC POSTSCRIPT

continued from page 20

boarded the *Sultana*, Captain Kerns warned Colonel Hatch that too many prisoners were being placed on the one steamer and tried to have some men sent north on the recently arrived *Pauline Carroll*. Hatch sent a telegram to Speed at the parole camp asking if there were more prisoners than could go aboard the *Sultana*. Speed, still convinced that there were no more than a total of 1,400 to be shipped that day, replied: "[No,] they can all go on one boat." With that assurance, Hatch refused to divide the men between the two vessels.

Equally certain that his assessment was correct, Captain Kerns approached General Smith, pleading with him to "interpose his influence and have part of the prisoners go on the *Pauline Carroll*." Smith, like Hatch, did nothing.

The third and final train arrived at the riverfront late on the afternoon of April 24, carrying approximately eight hundred paroled prisoners. As the long column of soldiers from the train snaked toward the *Sultana*, Captain Kerns once again implored Speed, who had ridden into Vicksburg on the train, and Williams to reconsider and place some of the men on the *Pauline Carroll*, which was still docked beside the *Sultana*. Both officers refused Kerns's request. Williams, who had been aboard the *Sultana*, declared that there was plenty of room on her decks for the men to be comfortable. A little while later, Kerns watched in dismay as the *Pauline Carroll* steamed away from Vicksburg with a total of 17 passengers.

Dr. George S. Kemble, the medical director of the Department of the Mississippi, who visited the *Sultana* after the second trainload of men had boarded, shared Kerns's view. Concluding that the steamboat was too crowded for the comfort and safety of the sick men, Kemble sought and received permission from General Dana to remove 23 men who were confined to cots from the *Sultana*. He also redirected a column of 278 soldiers who came from the hospital.

Major William Fidler of the 6th Kentucky Cavalry, the highest ranking Union prisoner of war, also disagreed with Williams's assessment. As the last detachment of men boarded the steamer, Fidler complained to Mason that there were too many passengers aboard the

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Sultana. By now, the vessel's captain, having received many more troops than even he desired, was growing concerned about the stability of his boat. Although he "thought he could carry them through," Mason nevertheless protested any further loading. He too was ignored.

While the exact number of people loaded onto the *Sultana* on April 24 remains unknown, there can be no question that the steamer was grossly overcrowded. The human load was so great that it was necessary for the crew to install extra supports for the upper decks, for fear that the sagging floors might collapse. Captain Speed was shocked when informed by George Williams that he had counted 1,996 men boarding the ship, several hundred more than his estimate.

What Speed did not realize was that Williams's figure only included the prisoners from the first and third trains, since the soldiers from the second train boarded the *Sultana* without being counted. In reality, the steamboat carried as many as 2,100 soldiers, approximately 100 civilian passengers, and 85 crewmen for a possible total of more than 2,300 people, more than six times the vessel's legal limit.* William J. Gambrel, the first clerk and part owner of the *Sultana*, told one soldier that "if we arrived safe at Cairo it would be the greatest trip ever made on the western waters, as there were more people on board than were ever carried on one boat on the Mississippi River."

At 9:00 P.M. on April 24, the *Sultana* slowly backed away from the wharf at Vicksburg and headed north on the flood-swollen Mississippi River. The enormous weight of the passengers and cargo on the decks of the steamer worried her crew. Gambrel warned Major Fidler that any sudden movement by the prisoners could cause the decks to collapse. He also expressed concern that too many men crowding to one side of the deck could result in the boat capsizing.

That horrifying scenario almost played out when the *Sultana* docked briefly at Helena, Arkansas. Word quickly spread among the passengers that a photographer was setting up his camera on the west

bank of the river. The excited soldiers, hoping to be caught on film, quickly moved to the port side of the boat, causing the *Sultana* to list dangerously. The resulting photograph, however, is the last picture taken of the steamer, as well as of many of those on board.

The *Sultana* continued upriver on the morning of April 26. John Clark Ely's diary entry for that day—his last—read: "[V]ery fine day, still upward we go."

After a four-hour stop at Memphis that evening, the steamer headed across the



U.S. ARMY MILITARY HISTORY INSTITUTE

*Resolutely certain that there were at most 1,400 soldiers at Vicksburg awaiting placement aboard a northbound steamer and that the *Sultana* could carry them all, Captain Frederic Speed (above) refused the entreaties of those convinced that the trip would end tragically. The only officer court martialed for his role in the disaster, Speed was initially convicted but won a reversal upon appeal.*

wide river to Hopefield, Arkansas, where she took on a thousand bushels of coal. At about this time, Captain Mason, who had grown increasingly concerned over the safety of the *Sultana* and her passengers, told one prisoner that "he would give all the interest he had in the boat if it was safely landed in Cairo."

By 2:00 A.M. on April 27, the top-heavy *Sultana* had reached a point seven

miles north of Memphis, where the river was nearly four miles wide. Most of the passengers slept on the crowded decks, as stokers shoveled coal to feed the four massive boilers that were located on the main deck between the waterwheels. Rising above the boilers were the upper decks, constructed of light, flimsy wood that was coated with highly combustible paints.

Suddenly, three of the huge boilers exploded with a volcanic fury that a witness on the shore described as the thundering noise of "a hundred earthquakes." The blast tore instantly through the decks directly above the boilers, flinging live coals and splintered timber into the night sky like fireworks. Scalding water and clouds of steam covered the prisoners who lay sleeping near the boilers. Hundreds were killed in the first moments of the tragedy. The upper decks of the *Sultana*, already sagging under the weight of her passengers, collapsed when the blast ripped through the steamer's superstructure. Many unfortunate souls, trapped in the resulting wreckage, could only wait for certain death as fire quickly spread throughout the hull. Within twenty minutes of the explosion, the entire superstructure of the *Sultana* was in flames.

The burning wreckage began to drift slowly downriver, as those on board fought to survive. With only 76 life preservers and two small lifeboats available, most of those who survived the blast jumped for their lives into the river. In the hours before dawn, hundreds of soldiers and civilians struggled in the river as they awaited rescue. But help did not come until 3:00 A.M., an hour after the explosion. The *Bostonia II*, plowing downriver, came upon the *Sultana* engulfed in flames, and immediately began to haul the survivors from the water around the wreckage.

In Memphis, sailors stood on the decks of United States Navy gunboats watching the red glow from the dying steamer that lit the northern horizon, yet no rescue effort was launched until approximately 3:20 A.M., by which time cries could be heard from out across the river. As cutters from the gunboats began sweeping the river in front of Memphis for survivors, their crews were directed in the darkness by the victims' screams for help. A sailor aboard the

*In addition to the passengers, the *Sultana* held a great deal of cargo, including almost two hundred head of horses, mules, and hogs, and the crew's mascot, an alligator housed in a wooden crate.

The blood and guts of young Americans drenched the seas and shores of Pacific islands in the Great War. Most was unnecessary and due to faulty planning and training – violations of basic strategic and tactical principles. I was there and saw it happen. Let it not happen again in Space, Air, Land and Sea actions. Read my book!

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USS *Tyler* wrote in the ship's log that "of all the sounds and noises I ever heard that was the most sorrowful; some cursing, calling for help; and shrieking. I will never forget those awful sounds."

When the sun rose in the eastern sky, more than 1,700 were dead or dying. Among the fatalities were Captain Mason, William Gambrel, Major Fidler, and Sergeant Ely.

At daybreak, the survivors commenced the grim and often futile task of searching for comrades. Samuel Pickens of the Third Tennessee Cavalry tried to locate his brother William. The following day Pickens wrote to his mother to give her the grim news of the disaster. "[I] must confess," he told her, "that to the best of my knowledge William is among the lost. I have not heard of him since the explosion took place and I have no hope of ever hearing from him anymore."

More than 500 of those who made it to shore were placed in hospitals; the Soldier's Home at Memphis took another 241. Many of these injured did not live to enjoy the freedom they had so recently won. Sergeant William Fies of the 64th Ohio Infantry, in describing the grim sights in one of the hospital wards, wrote that he "was placed in a ward with quite a number who were severely scalded, or otherwise badly injured, and such misery and intense suffering as I witnessed while there is beyond my power to describe. The agonizing cries and groans of the burned and scalded were heartrending and almost unendurable, but in most cases the suffering was of short duration as most of them were relieved by death in a few hours."

Because no accurate assessment of the number of passengers had been made, it was impossible to calculate the exact number of dead. Both the military's estimate of 1,238 and the Customs Department's figure of 1,547 were based strictly on Captain Williams's tally of prisoners placed on the *Sultana* at Vicksburg and were, therefore, too low. In reality, the death toll stood at more than 1,700.

Within hours of the disaster, General C. C. Washburn, the commanding officer at Memphis, appointed a military commission to investigate the tragedy. After weeks of testimony, the commission discounted the crowded conditions aboard the *Sultana*, concluding that "the evi-



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dence fully shows that the government has transferred as many or more troops on boats of no greater capacity than the *Sultana* frequently and with safety.”

General Dana and Brigadier General William Hoffman, the U.S. Army Commissary General of Prisoners, each conducted investigations. Hoffman’s findings were the most critical of the military’s involvement in the *Sultana* tragedy. He concluded that the “shipment of so large a number of troops (1,866) on one boat was, under the circumstances, unnecessary, unjustifiable, and a great outrage on the troops.” His report also pointed a finger of guilt at General Smith, noting that although he “had nothing officially to do with the shipment of the troops; yet as it was officially reported to him by Captain Kerns that too many men were being put on the *Sultana*, it was proper that he should have satisfied himself from good authority whether there was sufficient grounds for the report, and if he found it so he should have interfered to have the evil remedied. Had [Smith] done so, the lives of many men would have been saved.”

The cause of the destruction of the *Sultana* has always been in dispute. Many Northern newspapers immediately blamed the tragedy on sabotage, a possibility discounted by all of the various military investigations. The Washburn Commission concluded that insufficient water in the boilers precipitated the explosion, despite testimony to the contrary by the *Sultana*’s second engineer, who was on watch at the time of the explosion and who died soon after from the injuries he had received.

It was the investigation and report of J. J. Witzig, the supervising inspector of steamboats, that shed the most light on the cause of the tragedy. Witzig contended that the shoddy repair to the middle larboard boiler at Vicksburg had caused the explosion. The small patch, he reasoned, was too thin to stand the excessive pressure in the boiler on the upriver trip.

At the conclusion of all the military investigations, Hatch and Speed were ordered to appear before court-martial tribunals. The charges against Hatch stemmed from the fact that he had se-

lected the *Sultana* to transport the prisoners. Speed, because of his temporary replacement of Williams, was deemed to be the officer in direct command of the prisoner transfer.

On November 1, 1865, a court was appointed to try Captain Speed at Vicksburg. Although the government called several witnesses to testify, the prosecution failed to compel the appearance of one key witness, Lieutenant Colonel Hatch. A request by the prosecutor to the Secretary of War to have Hatch arrested and brought to Vicksburg to testify went unanswered. In June 1866, the military court found Speed guilty on all charges and sentenced him to be dismissed from the army. The verdict, however, was later reversed by the judge advocate general,



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The glow from the burning Sultana lit the night sky near Memphis, as hundreds of soldiers and civilians fought for their lives in the flood-swollen Mississippi River. It was one of the greatest maritime disasters in American history and a particularly tragic end to the Civil War for the former prisoners aboard.

and Captain Speed was honorably mustered out of service.

Hatch never stood before a court-martial tribunal. On June 3, 1865, he was relieved of his duties as chief quartermaster of the Department of the Mississippi. A few weeks later, he boarded the northbound steamer *Atlantic*, carrying \$14,490 in government money. During the voyage, the safe of the *Atlantic* was robbed. The thief was caught before the boat reached St. Louis, and all the money was recovered, except for more than \$8,500 in government funds Hatch claimed he had placed in the safe. He was found to have violated military regulations by re-

moving the funds from the Department and was held personally liable for the loss of the money. Thus, Hatch’s career ended as it began—in controversy.

With Speed’s exoneration, the military closed the books on the *Sultana* tragedy. In the end, no one was held responsible for the worst maritime disaster in American waters. Speed stayed in Vicksburg, becoming a criminal court judge and a powerful voice in Mississippi politics. George Williams retired from the military in 1870 as a major; he later served several terms on the school board in Newburgh, New York. General Smith, after resigning from the army, served as second assistant postmaster general during the Grant administration. On December 29, 1874, Smith was thought to have committed suicide after an article appeared in *The New York Times* accusing him of taking a \$50,000 bribe.

The horror of the *Sultana* tragedy was multiplied by its futility. Headlines in the *Memphis Daily Appeal* screamed: “IT WAS MURDER!” And the newspaper was correct. There was no military reason requiring or justifying the placement of so many soldiers aboard the *Sultana*. The real cause of the disaster was not the failure of the patch on the boiler, but the conspiracy of greed at Vicksburg that put the quest for profits above the safety of the weary soldiers who thought the horrors of war were behind them forever.

As the years passed, several survivors attempted to persuade the government to erect a monument in memory of their fallen comrades, but to no avail. Shortly before his death, *Sultana* passenger James H. Kimberlin expressed resentment toward his country when he wrote: “The men who had endured the torments of a hell on Earth, starved, famished from thirst, eaten with vermin, having endured all the indignities, insults and abuses possible for an armed bully to bestow upon them, to be so soon forgotten does not speak well for our government or the American people.” ★

Memphis attorney Jerry O. Potter is the author of The Sultana Tragedy: America’s Greatest Maritime Disaster (Pelican Publishing Co., 1992).

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F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

continued from page 49

fell to the floor while reading the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* on the afternoon of December 21, 1940. Struck by a massive heart attack, F. Scott Fitzgerald was dead at the relatively young age of 44.

The world took small note of his passing. His daughter Scottie, now a 19-year old student at Vassar College, and twenty or so friends attended his funeral service in Rockville, Maryland, the town where Fitzgerald's ancestors were buried. Zelda was not well enough to take part, and Sheilah Graham, for the sake of propriety, absented herself.

In the years following her husband's death, Zelda lived with her mother in Montgomery, Alabama, and occasionally spent time with Scottie, who had since married and moved to New York. In times of travail, she would return to a mental hospital in Asheville, North Carolina. As time passed, Zelda became fervently religious. To a friend she wrote: "To be rejected of God is to be prey of the Devil."

At about midnight on March 10, 1948, fire broke out in the main hospital building where Zelda was sleeping, trapping and killing nine women on the top floor. Zelda was one of them. She was buried alongside her husband in Rockville.

F. Scott Fitzgerald had reason to believe that he had outlived his success. At the time he died, his books were not selling well. Since his death, however, more than ten million copies of his novels have been sold, *The Great Gatsby* being the most popular among them.

Of Fitzgerald, author John O'Hara once declared: "All he was was our best novelist, one of our best novella-ists, and one of our finest writers of short stories." In critical circles, Fitzgerald's place is considered secure, along with Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner, as one of the "Big Three" American authors of the first half of the twentieth century.

His brief life, glittering and raucous, was a tragic one. A legend in his own time, living at the edge of delight, Fitzgerald wrote eloquently of soul-weary young men and beautiful women in quest of their fantasies. And he and Zelda came to symbolize the glamour—and the heart-break—of self-indulgence. ★

New York-based writer Edward Oxford is a frequent contributor to *American History*.

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IMAGES OF THE GREAT WAR

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While Schoonover was the more prolific of the two artists commissioned by the Curtis Company, Gayle Porter Hoskins nonetheless produced nine striking pictures of the fighting and related events. Like Schoonover, Hoskins studied under Howard Pyle, who instilled in his pupils a sense of history and the heroic that they carried into their own works. Schoonover and Hoskins also worked out of the same locales, first in Bushkill, Pennsylvania, and later in Wilmington, Delaware.

Hoskins' first effort for the *Journal*—"They Shall Not Pass!" *The Second Battle of the Marne*—was published in the magazine in November 1918. The ferocious hand-to-hand combat shown symbolized the bitter fighting that characterized the 1918 offensive planned by Germany's General Erich Ludendorff, in what was that country's last effort to push back the strengthened allies (Figure 12).

For his next piece, Hoskins chose an encounter in the St. Mihiel salient—brilliantly executed by General Pershing and his troops on September 13, 1918—in which the American cavalry entered the fray for the first time. The picture was published in the *Journal's* January issue, along with another by the artist that depicted an event at sea.

In *One-Hundred-Per-Cent Heroism, and Every Man a Yankee*, which appeared in February 1919, the artist showed doughboys doggedly hauling guns through thick Flanders mud over a three-mile stretch of shell-swept road, their artillery horses having been killed by German shells.

For his April effort, Hoskins took a break from violent images to recreate the March 28, 1918 meeting between General Pershing and France's General Foch at which the Americans offered their European allies all the resources of the AEF. The picture was aptly titled *The Greatest American Moment in the War* (Figure 10).

Hoskins also chose particular moments or incidents on the battlefield that portrayed gallantry. In one moving scene that took place in July 1918 as the AEF pursued the enemy across the Marne River and toward the Ourcq River, a group of American troops found the body of their

16-year-old comrade, Scotty, beside his beloved machine-gun. The youth had done more than his share, killing thirty Germans by a woodland road.

In his July picture, taken from the Meuse-Argonne campaign, which witnessed some of the bitterest fighting of the war, Hoskins illustrated an example of selflessness that occurred as the American troops repelled the German counterattack. In *One Water Bottle for Forty Men*, the entrenched Americans are shown passing a single canteen down the line; on receiving it, the last soldier discovers that there was more left for him than any of the others had enjoyed (Figure 13).

Hoskins' final image appeared in the October 1919 issue, eleven months after the war's end. This picture demonstrated the valor of the soldiers' canine friend. A regiment in the Argonne, finding itself cut off with no telephone, dispatched a golden collie to traverse three bullet-riddled miles to the supporting column. Hit by gunfire, the dog nonetheless continued on, sustaining more wounds as he went, until a bullet in his spine forced him to crawl the final distance to the general to whom he had been sent. Then, in his last act, the canine hero touched the general's outstretched hand with his nose before collapsing in death. "He had saved the whole regiment," read the final line of the caption.

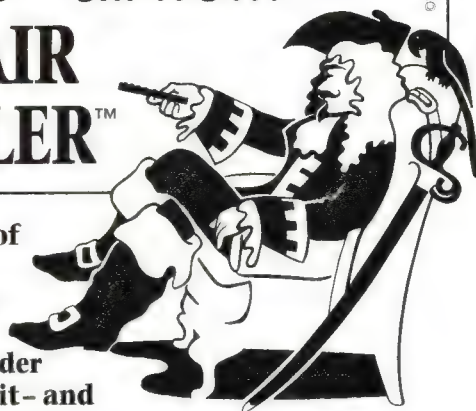
The Ladies' Home Journal souvenir pictures have been all but forgotten, overshadowed by the scenes that were painted by the official artists. Yet they have a sobering effect on those who view them today. Far from glorifying the war, they dwell upon moments of patriotism and valor, of pride in one's country, and of self-sacrifice. They speak of country boys and street-hardened city men brought together in the horror that was the Western Front, who found common ground and a sense of camaraderie. The images deserve to be remembered if only for their value in rekindling our feelings of pride and gratitude toward those in all wars who have laid down their lives so that the world might be a better place. ★

Peter Harrington is the curator of the Anne S. K. Brown Collection at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island.



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1796 THE FIRST REAL ELECTION continued from page 28

As one historian has noted: "Never before or since has a foreign power acted so openly in an American election."

Sixteen states took part in the balloting. The 138 electors were chosen by popular vote in six states and by the state legislatures of the remaining ten. Seventy votes were required to win a majority.

Adams expected to receive all of New England's 39 votes, but he also had to win all 12 of New York's votes and 19 from the other middle and southern states to win. He concluded that was impossible, especially after learning of Hamilton's machinations. On the eve of the electoral college vote, Adams remarked privately that Hamilton had "outgeneraled" all the other politicians and stolen the election for Pinckney.

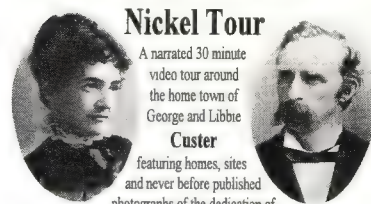
The electors voted in their respective state capitals on the first Wednesday in December, but the law stipulated that the ballots could not be opened and counted until the second Wednesday in February. And so for nearly seventy days, every conceivable rumor circulated regarding the outcome of the election. By the third week in December, however, one thing was clear, Jefferson could not get seventy votes. Although 63 electors were Southerners, the South was a two-party region, and it was known that Jefferson had not received a vote from every Southern elector. In addition, because the Federalists controlled the legislatures in New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, it was presumed that Jefferson would be shut out in those states.

Beyond that, nothing was certain. Many believed that Pinckney would win, either because of Hamilton's supposed chicanery or because all "the Jeffs," as Ames called the Southern Republican electors, supposedly had cast their second ballot for the South Carolinian in order to ensure that a Southerner succeed Washington. A good number of Americans fully expected that no candidate would get a majority of the votes, thus sending the election to the House of Representatives.

By the end of December, better information arrived in Philadelphia when Ames informed Adams that he had at least 71 electoral votes. On December 28, Jefferson wrote Adams a congratula-

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tory letter and at Washington's final levee in 1796, the First Lady told the vice president of her husband's delight at his victory. Persuaded that he was indeed the victor, an ebullient Adams wrote his wife at year's end that he had "never felt more serene" in his life.

Finally, on February 8, 1797, the sealed ballots were opened and counted before a joint session of Congress. Ironically, it was Vice President Adams, in his capacity as president of the Senate, who read aloud the results. The tabulation showed that Adams had indeed garnered 71 votes. Every New England and New York elector had voted for him. The tales about Hamilton's treachery had been untrue; ultimately, the former treasury secretary found the prospect of a Jefferson administration too distasteful to risk the subterfuge necessary to defeat Adams, who also got, as expected, all ten votes from New Jersey and Delaware. And in a sense, Adams won the election in the South, having secured nine votes in Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia.

Jefferson, who finished second with 68 votes, automatically became the new vice president.* One Federalist elector in Virginia, the representative of a western district that long had exhibited hostility toward the planter aristocracy, voted for Adams and Pinckney, as did four electors from commercial, Federalist enclaves in Maryland and North Carolina. Whereas Adams secured enough votes in the South to push him over the top, Jefferson did not receive a single electoral vote in New England or in New York, New Jersey, or Delaware.

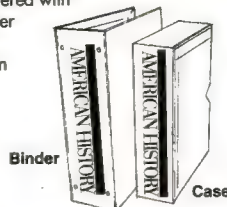
Pinckney, not Adams, was the real victim of Hamilton's rumored duplicity. To ensure that the South Carolinian did not obtain more votes than Adams, 18 Federalist electors in New England refused to give him their vote. Had Pinckney received 12 of those votes, the election would have been thrown into the House of Representatives. Instead, he finished

*This first contested presidential election demonstrated a flaw in the Constitution's electoral college scheme since the country now had a Federalist president and a Republican vice president. Four years later, the two Republican candidates, Jefferson and Burr, each received 73 electoral votes. Although it was clear during the election campaign that Jefferson was the presidential candidate and Burr the vice presidential, Burr refused to concede, forcing a vote in the House of Representatives that brought Jefferson into office. To correct these defects the Twelfth Amendment, which provided for separate balloting for president and vice president, was adopted in 1804.

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third with 59 electoral votes.

Burr polled only thirty votes. Southern Republicans—perhaps sharing the sentiment of the Virginia elector who remarked that there were “traits of character” in Burr which “sooner or later will give us much trouble”—rejected him.

Even among the enfranchised citizens, few bothered to cast ballots in this election. In Pennsylvania, a state in which the electors were popularly chosen, only about one-quarter of the eligible voters went to the polls. But the contest in Pennsylvania was an augury of the political changes soon to come. The Republicans swept 14 of the state's 15 electoral votes, winning in part because they “outpoliticked” their opponents by running better-known candidates for the electoral college and because Minister Adet's intrusive comments helped Jefferson among Quakers and Philadelphia merchants who longed for peace. Many voters had rejected the Federalist Party because they thought of it as a pro-British, pro-aristocratic party committed to an economic program designed to benefit primarily the wealthiest citizens.

And what occurred in Pennsylvania was not unique. Jefferson won more than eighty percent of the electoral college votes in states outside New England that chose their electors by popular vote. In an increasingly democratic United States, the election of 1796 represented the last great hurrah for the Federalist Party.

On March 4, 1797, America's first orderly transfer of power occurred in Philadelphia when George Washington stepped down and John Adams took the oath as the second president of the United States. Many spectators were moved to tears during this emotional affair, not only because Washington's departure brought an era to a close, but because the ceremony represented a triumph for the republic. Adams remarked that this peaceful event was “the sublimist thing ever exhibited in America.” He also noted Washington's joy at surrendering the burdens of the presidency. In fact, Adams believed that Washington's countenance seemed to say: “Ay! I am fairly out and you fairly in! See which of us will be the happiest.” ★

Historian John Ferling is the author of the recently re-released John Adams: A Life (An Owl Book, Henry Holt and Company, 1996, \$17.95 paper).

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FLAGSHIP ENCOUNTER

continued from page 54

volley they fired at the British to be a cheer.

Perry had planned for each of his vessels to engage a particular British ship, while he took on HMS *Detroit*, flagship of Captain Robert Barclay, with the *Lawrence*. The *Niagara*, armed with eighteen 32-pounder, short-range carronades and two longer-range, 12-pounder bow guns, was supposed to engage HMS *Queen Charlotte*. For reasons that have never been determined, however, *Niagara's* commander, Lieutenant Jesse Eliott, instead kept his charge out of action and out of harm's way, allowing *Queen Charlotte* to join *Detroit* in cutting *Lawrence* to splinters.

Before long, 83 of the American flagship's 103 men had been killed or wounded, and all seemed lost. But the resourceful Perry grabbed his inspirational flag and transferred to the *Niagara* under thick musket fire from British marines. Hoisting his flag anew, he sailed back to face *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte*, which were supported by three other vessels. When the two large British ships became fouled on one another, Perry seized the opportunity, laying down a killing fire. Within just 15 minutes after Perry set foot on the *Niagara*, casualties aboard the *Detroit* forced Barclay to surrender.

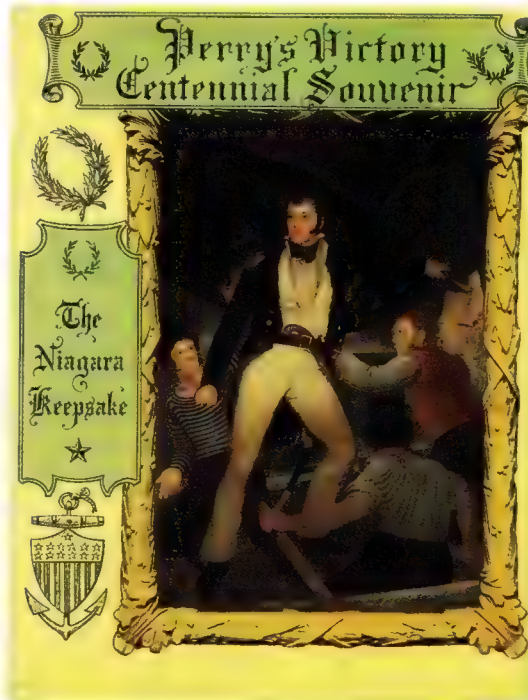
When all the British vessels had been subdued, Perry scrawled a message on the back of an envelope and sent it to American General William Henry Harrison. The note read: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner and a sloop."

With those words, British control of the Great Lakes ended. Perry now held the distinction of being the first commander ever to capture an entire squadron of the seemingly invincible Royal Navy. He had done so at a cost of 123 men killed or wounded, inflicting 135 British casualties in the process.

Having served her stated purpose, the *Niagara's* combat career was over. She stood a sleepy guard over the port of Erie until 1820, when a few strategically placed holes were cut in her hull, sending her to the bottom of Misery Bay. No one intervened to save her from her ignominious

fate, not even Perry, who had succumbed to yellow fever on August 23, 1819.

In the early 1900s, the approach of the Battle of Lake Erie's centennial stirred memories of the hulk lying on the bay floor. Erie's citizens soon joined in an effort to have *Niagara* hauled back up and restored. Following the favorable report of a diver sent down in the summer of 1912 to examine the hulk, work began to free the brig from the bottom sand. On March 6, 1913, the *Niagara* rose on four chains through a hole in the thick winter ice; a month later she was gently put ashore, where she was rebuilt, using a large per-



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centage of her original timbers, in time for a June 1913 launch. A cruise of Lake Erie harbors followed, culminating in an appearance at Put-in-Bay on September 10. During this tour, the *Niagara* was towed by the 1843 steam-powered warship *Wolverine*.

Niagara underwent another partial rebuild in 1931, after it was acquired by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Work was not completed, however, before the belt-tightening of the Great Depression temporarily brought the project to a halt. Even when finally completed in 1943, the refurbished vessel lacked masts. Spars and rigging were added twenty years later, for the brig's 150th anniversary.

The present-day *Niagara*, 198 feet in overall length yet a much smaller vessel than the *Constitution*, can not be considered Perry's original flagship. "This ship is

a new ship with new timbers," admits Captain Walter Rybka, the brig's master. Original wood was incorporated where possible during construction, but is used in a way Rybka termed "symbolic." "Structurally," he said, "this ship has no original fabric." Rather than being, like the *Constitution*, a carefully preserved heirloom, the *Niagara*, as it exists today is an active, operating, reconstructed vessel with a mission. Made more seaworthy by her powerful inboard auxiliary engine and a bolted-on keel extension, she is no green-timbered vessel built for one battle.

The new *Niagara*, commissioned in August 1990, was the fruit of a \$4-million reconstruction that began in 1987 under the supervision of naval architect Melbourne Smith, designer of the first *Pride of Baltimore*. Smith, according to Rybka, based his plans on the archaeological record of the ship itself, which unfolded as his crew disassembled the vessel, as well as on the records left by "the captain who oversaw the rebuild in 1913 . . . [and] other designs from Noah Brown; a lot is known about his work." Nonetheless, the *Niagara* is "based mostly on conjecture," Rybka said, "but I think it is historically sound conjecture."

The ship's modern-day mission is threefold. As Pennsylvania's flagship, *Niagara* helps the state's Department of Commerce promote historical tourism. As a historical vessel, her mission is to interpret the history of the War of 1812 on Lake Erie. And lastly, according to Captain Rybka, "This is a skills preservation center. We're carrying on the craft of traditional seamanship."

Maintaining and sailing vessels like *Constitution* and *Niagara* is expensive. It costs about \$600,000 a year of state funds and another \$250,000 from the private sector to keep *Niagara* afloat and operating. For the guests sailing aboard the two vessels that July morning in Boston Harbor, there was no question that the expense was worthwhile. For them and many others, these sailing vessels are "flagships" of our history, precious legacies of a republic born from the sea. ★

James P. Kushlan spent nine days aboard Niagara in 1992 getting rope burns and an education in the work ethic. He is the editor of Civil War Times Illustrated.

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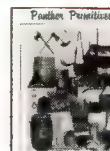
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November/December 1996

KNOWN BUT TO GOD

continued from page 42

tary area. Once deemed proficient, the
new guard is allowed duty on a regular-
ly scheduled basis.

All of the members of the Tomb
Guard have memorized the Sentinel's
Creed:

My dedication to this sacred duty
Is total and wholehearted
In the responsibility bestowed on me
Never will I falter
And with dignity and perseverance
My standard will remain perfection
Through the years of
diligence and praise
and the discomfort of the elements
I will walk my tour in humble reverence
To the best of my ability
It is he who commands the respect
I protect
His bravery that made us so proud
Surrounded by well meaning
crowds by day
Alone in the thoughtful peace of night
This soldier will in honored Glory rest
Under my eternal vigilance

The Guard continues its watch at the
Tomb. Twenty-one paces, day and night,
winter and summer, sometimes with
crowds, sometimes in lonely vigil. The
ceremony today seems less about the
mystery of the identity of those buried
there and more about the sacrifice made
by all American troops from the Ar-
gonne Forest in France, Bataan in the
Philippines, Inchon in South Korea, to
Khe Sanh in Vietnam.

In the silence and dignity of the Tomb
of the Unknown Soldiers we share feel-
ings of honor and the sense of loss and re-
newal. Seventy-five years ago, Kirke L.
Simpson, a writer for the Associated Press,
wrote a news story about the events at Ar-
lington Cemetery in words that remain
powerful today: "Alone, he lies in the nar-
row cell of stone that guards his body, but
his soul has entered into the spirit that is
America." ★

*Roger A. Bruns is a historian and Acting Direc-
tor of Public Affairs at the National Archives
and Records Administration in Washington,
D.C., and a frequent contributor to American
History. His most recent book is The Bandit
Kings: From Jesse James to Pretty Boy Floyd
(Crown Publishers, Inc., 1995).*

FORTHCOMING IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF AMERICAN HISTORY



LINCOLN MUSEUM, FORT WAYNE, INDIANA #1683

CIVIL WAR IMAGES OF LINCOLN

Although Abraham Lincoln served as
the commander in chief of the Union
forces during the Civil War,
contemporary illustrations picture
him as the "quintessential civilian."

A RAGE FOR ANGELS

Known to movie-goers of the 1920s
as "Baby Peggy," Diana Cary writes
from first-hand experience of the rise
and fall of the child star in America.

THE NAVAJO'S SECRET WEAPON

During World War II, the native lan-
guage of the U.S. Army's "Navajo
Code Talkers" confounded all
enemy attempts to break the new
American "code."

DID THE MOSQUITO DO IT?

Dr. Walter Reed's successful search for
the cause of yellow fever contributed
to the building of the Panama Canal.

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TIME TRAVELER

visiting the past



WAR OF 1812 RE-ENACTORS

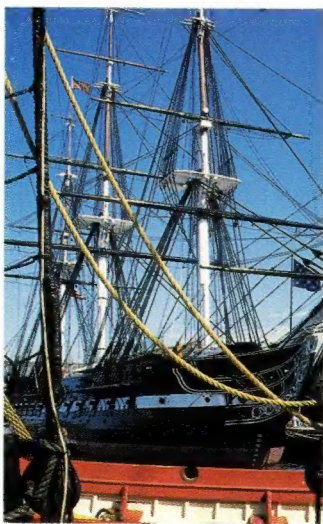
CHARLESTOWN NAVY YARD

Of the many aspects of American life that have changed during the past two hundred years, one of the most dramatic is the scale of things. Two centuries ago, when city buildings were constructed on a more human scale, the *USS Constitution* towered over nearly every structure in her home city of Boston. Today, from the perspective of the observatory atop the city's John Hancock building, *Old Ironsides* can be singled out among the skyscrapers and giant carrier ships only with the aid of a telescope.

A pilgrimage from Boston across the Charles River to the old Charlestown Navy Yard, however, helps to put the *Constitution* back into its proper scale—a scale not of sheer size, but of importance and dignity. And by those measurements, the *Constitution* is a giant. Still an official U.S. Navy vessel on the eve of her two-hundredth birthday, *Constitution* is the

world's second oldest—after the HMS *Victory*—commissioned warship. She is the flagship of the U.S. Navy, and in many respects, the flagship of the United States itself (see pages 51-54).

The *Constitution* is berthed at the Navy Yard's Pier 1 and is open for boarding. Visitors can enjoy a good look around the historic vessel, either with



USS CONSTITUTION

the help of one of the official tour guides, or by using the informative pamphlet available at the end of the gangplank. After taking in the rich details of the main, or "spar," deck—including the massive tree trunks that form the masts; the carvings on the ends of the hammock rails; the heavy, varnished stays; the ship's bell; and the great double steering wheel—one can descend through

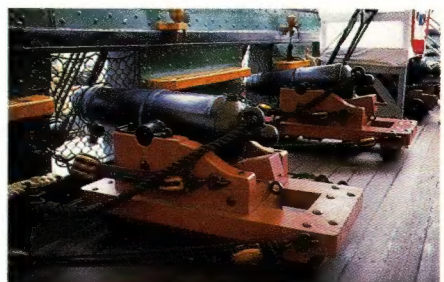
one of the hatches into the belly of the ship. The first deck below the spar deck is the gun deck, which holds thirty cannon, along with the huge galley stove, the bilge pumps, and

the stout capstan used to heave up the anchor. The captain's cabins are also on this deck, at the stern.

Below the gun deck is the berthing deck, where the sailors slung their hammocks for sleeping. The ship's officers and midshipmen berthed in small cabins along the ship's walls toward the stern. There is another deck below the berthing deck—the hold, or "orlop" deck (from the Middle English "overlop," for a floor over the bilges of a ship). Although this deck is closed to the public, visitors can peer down through hatches to see the powder storage area, the filling room where loads for the ship's guns were prepared, and an area where the ship's doctor performed surgery.

In addition to *Old Ironsides*, the Charlestown Navy Yard offers many other historic attractions. The *USS Constitution Museum* features interpretive exhibits that let visitors walk through the great ship's history, from her original construction to her most recent rebuild. The *Bunker Hill Pavilion*, the *Lightship Nantucket II*, the World War II destroyer *USS Cassin Young*, and the early-nineteenth-century *Commandant's House* are also open to the public. Admission is charged at the Constitution Museum, and although access to *Old Ironsides* is free, contributions toward her continued restoration and maintenance are much appreciated. For information on hours of operation, fees, and handicapped accessibility, call the Charlestown Navy Yard at 617-242-5601, the *USS Constitution* at 617-242-5670, or the museum at 617-426-1812.

—James P. Kushlan



GUN DECK, USS CONSTITUTION

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